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WHAT MAKES A GOVERNMENT TRANSLATOR TICK?

EXAMINING THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT ENGLISH TRANSLATORS'
PERCEPTIONS OF TRANSLATOR STATUS, JOB SATISFACTION
AND THE UNDERLYING FACTORS

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ABSTRACT

As independent topics, translator status and job satisfaction have not attracted very much research before the 2010s. In light of the previous research, the perceptions of translator status have been low among both translators and people outside the profession. At the same time, however, translators would seem to enjoy their work. The present study drew on these apparently inconsistent findings. Consequently, the aim was to examine the perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction among the English translators employed by Finnish government ministries and to map factors underlying these perceptions.

The study falls within the scope of the sociology of translation where translation and translators are studied in light of the social context and social phenomena pertinent to the chosen object of study. The main research orientation is that of a case study research design due to the explicit and in-depth focus on a contemporary phenomenon within a clearly defined real-life context.

The study is based on two sets of data: the primary set of data was collected through semi-structured individual interviews among the government English translators in 2013 (n=16). The secondary set of data is based on an online questionnaire administered among all government translators in 2014 (n=28). In addition, the sources of research data include statutes, archival records, government reports, statistics, minutes of meetings, and the ministries' websites and internal instructions.

Both the quantitative and qualitative results indicated that translator status in society was perceived to be low by the examined government translators. At the same time, they considered their own translator status at the workplace very high. Some of this difference could be explained based on the status parameters applied in the previous research (income, expertise, visibility, power). However, a thematic analysis of the interview data demonstrated that the government English translators' perceptions of their personal workplace status was affected by a wide array of other factors, too – such as the level of personal contacts and opportunities for cooperation, work autonomy, and a sense of inclusion and meaningfulness.

The government English translators also considered that the level of their job satisfaction was good, that their jobs were characterised by a wide range of job resources and that they were in a position to influence their occupational circumstances through job crafting.

The results suggest that qualitative research on translators' perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction would be useful among different kinds of translator groups, too. Such research could target, for example, work engagement, the sociocognitive processes pertinent to translation, and the role of professional networks. All this would provide wider insight into the factors

and mechanisms that determine and shape translators' status perceptions and job satisfaction and, by doing so, produce new information on the factors that support translators' physical and psychological wellbeing at work.

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PART I

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 FOCUS OF STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The focus of this doctoral thesis is on the Finnish government English translators' perceptions of their personal translator status and job satisfaction. My research interest in the area was triggered by an article published in *Kääntäjä* magazine in spring 2012, entitled *The (under)valued translator: who, where and why?*¹ In the article, Minna Ruokonen from the University of Eastern Finland summarised the key findings of empirical studies on translator status conducted among company, agency and freelance translators in Denmark in 2007–2009. The main conclusion of the *Kääntäjä* article was that, for a number of reasons, translators did not consider translator status to be very high. It also suggested that the perceptions of low status could show links with the respondents' level of job satisfaction.

Based on my personal experience as a government English translator for more than ten years, it seemed to me that the conclusions regarding the perception of translator status on the Danish translator scene might not be in full accord with the experiences of translators working within the Finnish government. This feeling was also supported by countless discussions with colleagues from different ministries and general feedback from government translation service users. However, this is not to say that the professional lives of government translators in Finland are without their moments of disappointment, disparagement or dissatisfaction – far from it. But still, the overall impression of translator status within the government seemed somehow less discouraging than that reported in the Danish studies. My feelings of doubt and uneasiness after reading the *Kääntäjä* article thus served as the main impetus for the present research project.

Although the present study was inspired by the assumption that the claims of a set of Danish studies regarding the level of perceived translator status would not necessarily hold among the Finnish government English translators, it did not seem satisfactory to merely examine translator status and job satisfaction *per se* and compare the results with earlier research. This would have done little to gain a better understanding of the situation and its root causes. Therefore, from the outset, the objective of the present research project has not been simply to determine the existing state of affairs but to dig

¹ My translation of the original Finnish title '(Ali)arvostettu kääntäjä: kuka, missä ja miksi?'. *Kääntäjä* is the quarterly magazine of the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL) and was first published in 1970.

deeper – not only to establish the Finnish government English translators' perceptions of their translator status and job satisfaction but also to identify and examine the phenomena in light of factors characteristic of this particular research population and working environment.

This led to a twofold research question: (1) How do the Finnish government English translators perceive their translator status and level of job satisfaction and (2) What are the factors underlying these perceptions? The dual nature of the research question and the narrowed context of the research environment permitted to examine personal workplace status and job satisfaction not only as expressions of subjective feelings but also as indications of working-life realities that are beneficial and/or detrimental to the experience and shaping of both phenomena in an occupational setting where the main task is not that of translating. Furthermore, it also seemed justified to delve into the links and interaction between occupational status and job satisfaction since according to a survey carried out by the American Psychological Association (APA) in 2012, “employees who feel valued are more likely to report better physical and mental health, as well as higher levels of engagement, satisfaction and motivation, compared to those who do not feel valued”.²

On the one hand, the purpose of the present study is to fill gaps regarding information on translator status and status building factors which, according to Helle V. Dam and Karin Korning Zethsen, have until recently remained a relatively neglected area of empirical research (2014: 266). On the other hand, Mónica Rodríguez-Castro (2015: 31, 41), for example, suggests that the same scarcity of research applies to the systematic examination of translators' job satisfaction and the reasons contributing to it. It seems that fairly little is known about how translators are faring amidst the developments that reshape their occupational landscape today. Consequently, the present study builds on these apparent research opportunities. It should also be underlined that, in the same context, one of the overarching purposes of the study is to identify and bring to the fore, in particular, the possible inspiring, motivating and nurturing elements of the government English translators' professional life. My focus on the constructive dimensions of work stems from the explanatory powers of approaches that are based on the analysis of what is positive in the given circumstances. In other words, my starting point is to give attention to and learn more about the positive elements that support the government English translators in their professional activities.

As a main rule, the government in-house translators in Finland translate between Finnish and Swedish, English or Russian. The reason for placing the main focus of attention on the government English translators is that their employment and duties within the Finnish government have in no point of history been regulated and guaranteed by statutes or statutory requirements, as opposed to both Swedish and Russian translators. In other words, the intention was to rule out, as much as possible, factors that might have provided

² Retrieved 1 May 2018 from www.apa.org/news/press/releases/2012/03/well-being.aspx.

the respondents with an institutionally imposed sense of status or position. However, the data, collected through semi-structured individual interviews among the government English translators and an online questionnaire among all the government translators, enables to make reference to government translators as a group and per the other working languages, too. At the time of data collection, the total number of government translators was 58 and 16 of them had English as a working language. Therefore, the number of the English translators accounts for approximately one quarter of all the government translators then in office.

1.2 POSITIONING WITHIN TRANSLATION STUDIES

The research objective places the present study within the theoretical framework of the Sociology of Translation and its subfield of Translator Studies where “issues of agency of translators and interpreters, as well as social factors permeating the communicative and social act or translation and interpreting, are discussed in more interdisciplinary terms” (Angelelli 2012: 125). From the start, it was evident that my chosen research question called for certain interdisciplinarity and made it necessary to look beyond the concepts and tools of Translation Studies. It can also be argued that with its intention to gauge the perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction and to identify factors contributing to the social construction and deconstruction of these perceptions, the present thesis forms part of the empirical research that is motivated by a *wish-to-know* and a *wish-to-understand* rather than a *wish-to-control* perspective (Toury 2006: 57).

By focusing on the government English translators, the study also provides insight into institutional translation. This is an area which, according to Brian Mossop (1988) and Kaisa Koskinen (2000), had not attracted very much empirical research before the 2000s although institutions, by their very nature, introduce sociological dimensions of their very own into translation. Yves Gambier (2007: 206) has drawn attention to the fact that research in Translation Studies has been dominated by studies on literary translation even though its relative share of all translation activity is very small. However, more recent studies suggest that currently focus seems to have shifted in favour of business rather than literary translation (Dam & Koskinen 2012) and that interest in institutional translation has also increased (Koskinen 2008, Mossop 2006). Based on its research population and research context, the present thesis contributes to these trends.

Furthermore, Christiane Nord (2013: 208) has called for more empirical research on translators’ workplaces as otherwise there is a risk of “the gap between practice and theory ... to widen even more”. And, indeed, as pointed out by Maureen Ehrensberger-Dow and Riitta Jääskeläinen (2018: 132), over the past few years, “the boundaries of translation studies have shifted to include inter- and transdisciplinary research into realities of the translation

workplace”. For its small part, the present thesis hopes to contribute to the narrowing of this research gap as its main object of study consists of non-literary translators within their everyday occupational setting, the Finnish government ministries. It can be argued, therefore, that the overall objective of my research complies with the criteria of Chesterman’s (2009: 20) definition of Translator Studies within the Sociology of Translation, as it

... covers research which focuses primarily and explicitly on the agents involved in translation, for instance on their activities or attitudes, their interaction with their social and technical environment, or their history and influence.

In other words, the present study casts the Finnish government English translators in the role of the involved agents to gain an understanding of translators’ perceptions of status and job satisfaction and the underlying factors in the given professional setting.

1.3 THESIS STRUCTURE

The present thesis consists of four parts: Part I introduces the research question and describes the research context, Part II provides information on the research framework and related earlier research, Part III presents the research results, and Part IV summarises the research findings and their wider implications. Each part is divided into chapters.

Part I comprises two chapters. Chapter 1 provides the introduction to the present study and its main objectives. Chapter 2 describes the institutional framework of the organisation of government translation in Finland. This enables to place the research project in its proper context and draw attention to circumstances particular to the present research setting and population.

Part II is also composed of two chapters. Chapter 3 starts with an overview of the Sociology of Translation and Translator Studies. This is followed by an introduction of positive psychology which serves as the present study’s ideological research framework. The Chapter continues with a discussion on the ways of determining occupational status and summarises earlier research relating to translator status. It also includes subchapters with a focus on job satisfaction and previous findings concerning translators’ job satisfaction. Chapter 3 finishes with a presentation of the Job Demands-Resources model and the concept of job crafting as means of examining translators’ work-related phenomena. Chapter 4 outlines the methodology of the present thesis and provides information on the research design, data collection methods, respondent population and methods of data analysis. The Chapter closes with observations concerning the research orientation, position of the researcher and participant anonymity.

The two chapters constituting *Part III* present the research findings. Chapter 5 introduces the results of the analysis regarding the government

English translators' perception of their translator status. The Chapter starts with a discussion of the results in light of a set of four status parameters relating to income, education/expertise, visibility, and power/influence. In addition to the status parameters, equal consideration is given to other status-related factors observed in the collected data. Chapter 6 first analyses the data in terms of job satisfaction, followed by an examination of the phenomena in light of job resources and incidents of job crafting.

Part IV consists of Chapter 7 which provides a summary of the research findings and their relevance in relation to the perceptions of translator status, job satisfaction and the factors underlying them. Based on the results obtained, Chapter 7 offers a critical summary of the research project and its main findings. It also posits avenues for possible further research.

2 GOVERNMENT TRANSLATION SERVICES IN FINLAND

This Chapter provides information on the administrative and statutory framework that has necessitated, governed and shaped the emergence of institutional translation within the Finnish government over the centuries. The aim is to summarise the main issues that have affected the development of government translation services based on legislation, earlier studies and various government reports that either focus or touch on the organisation and provision of the translation services. However, **government** is here, and throughout the present doctoral thesis, to be understood as a “decision-making body for governmental and administrative matters, consisting of a government plenary session and the ministries” only.³ Therefore, the present Chapter does not apply to the development of translation services within Finland’s central government or public administration in general. Also, in the present thesis, the term **government translator** denotes a language specialist whose main duty consists of translating government documents. Other government language specialists, including terminologists, legal revisers and language technology specialists, were excluded from the study.

As a starting point, it is important to notice that until the 20th century the term ‘translator’ was applied to a very heterogeneous group of people in Finland, often not having translation as their main or only occupation, and therefore translators within the government constitute an exceptional group as they were officially appointed to that position and earned their living from it (Paloposki 2016: 27–28). Outi Paloposki (2016: 17) also argues that in Translation Studies it was only in the 1990s that “the translator emerged as a ‘figure’ ...: a flesh-and-blood person, an agent of cultural change, or a professional”.

Paloposki also points out that, so far, research on translation and its role within the Finnish administration has been scarce although, for example, the role of institutional translation within the Finnish central and local government has been incontestable throughout its history (ead.: 19).⁴ Institutional translation and translating institutions as a whole have received fairly little attention despite their special qualities. In Mossop’s (1990: 342) argumentation, translating institutions include “companies, governments, newspapers, churches and literary publishers”. I would like to suggest that the characterisation could be extended to any organisation, physical or virtual, which relies on translation to achieve its objectives. According to Mossop (id.:

³ Finnish Government Termbank Valter. Retrieved 28 Sep. 2019 from www.valter.fi.

⁴ Paloposki (2016: 19) draws attention to the following: “Saarikivi 2005 for Antti Jalava translating in the Senate; Koskinen 2014 for translating in the city of Tampere in Finland and Riikonen 2005 for translator status in state administration”. See also Nordman (2009) on legal translation from Finnish into Swedish.

345), institutional translation is, for example, characterised by the intent “of making the translation serve the purpose of the translating institution”. In other words, translations produced in translating institutions may not be “faithful” translations but rather idiomatic adaptations to better communicate the institution’s message in another language(s). He also posits (2006) that institutional translation is not immune to the overpowering impact of economic considerations, citing as an example the shift “from culture to business” in the organisation and objectives of federal government translation in Canada. I argue that these phenomena pose interesting questions within the boundaries of institutions which do not exist to translate but, in a manner of speaking, must translate to exist. The latter is true of the government in Finland which, by virtue of law, must provide information and services both in Finnish and Swedish.⁵ To reach the growing number of international audiences and to promote Finland’s interests and obligations in international arenas, the need for government translation services in English, too, has constantly increased.⁶

According to Kaisa Koskinen (2008: 15), the “term ‘institution’ is often a slippery concept” due to its several manifestations. Similarly, the concept of a ‘translating institution’ covers a wide range of establishments characterised by the need or desire to make its own voice heard among a certain pre-determined, or pre-imagined, group of readers (Mossop 1990: 342; 1988: 66). The purpose of this Chapter is not, however, to examine institutional translation or translating institutions in general; nor to present an overview of the related research in Translation Studies. Particularly so, as research on institutional translation has often been geared towards examining the processes and practices relevant to legal translation (e.g. Nordman 2009; Paunio 2013; Prieto Ramos (Ed.) 2018) which, as is to be explained, was not at the core of the government English translators’ work. The present Chapter, therefore, merely seeks to assemble a coherent and concise picture of the organisational, social and cultural dimensions and developments in history which bear relevance to the present research context and research population. The focus of this Chapter is therefore strictly on the Finnish government excluding a more general review of institutional and administrative translation as such. In the present thesis, institutional translation is to be understood in the same meaning as defined by Koskinen (2008: 22).

My definition thus is as follows: we are dealing with *institutional translation* in those cases when an official body (government agency, multinational organization or a private company, etc.; also an individual person acting in an official status) uses translation as a means of ‘speaking’ to a particular audience.

⁵ The use sign language, Sami languages and the Roma language is also governed by legislation. For more, see <https://oikeusministerio.fi/en/linguistic-rights> (retrieved 12 Mar. 2019).

⁶ See the Report on the operations of the Prime Minister’s Office at <https://vnk.fi/ministerio/tilinpaatokset> (retrieved 12 Mar. 2019, in Finnish only).

The first part of this Chapter provides a brief overview of the organisation of government translation services in light of the history of the Finnish government and statutes issued in the 19th and 20th century. The examination of statutes is restricted to provisions that relate to translators employed to serve within Finland's government: in 1809–1816 the Governing Council, in 1816–1918 the Senate, and from 1918 onwards the Finnish government.⁷ As the focus is on government translators and translation services, the implications of Finland's socio-political developments on the country's language situation and language usage are acknowledged but not discussed as such.

The second part describes the organisation of government translation services in the Finnish ministries at the time of collecting the data for the present study in 2013–2014. The role and influence of the informal own-initiative Government Language Specialists' Network, established in 2000, is also examined. Due to the focus of the present study, special reference is made to the employment of English translators.

The third part provides a summary of government reports and projects that were published in 1985–2014 and relate either directly or indirectly to the government translation services. The aim is to draw a general picture of the institutional processes that have affected the organisation of translation services within the government ministries before and during the collection of data for this study. My examination is restricted to that particular period of time as it was characterised by Finland's rapidly expanding involvement in intergovernmental and international organisations and activities. It also coincides with the time of employment of the respondents to the present study and, consequently, the measures envisaged and/or initiated on the basis of the reports are likely to bear significance to their attitudes and views.

2.1 HISTORICAL AND STATUTORY FRAMEWORK

2.1.1 UNDER THE SWEDISH RULE UNTIL THE YEAR 1809

Due to historical reasons, official in-house translating has occupied a role within Finland's central administration for several centuries. The need for institutional translation was acknowledged even before Finland had its own independent central administration. According to Einar Juva (1946: 194), certain royal decrees and letters were translated by public officials or clergymen into Finnish as early as in the 16th century when Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden and Swedish the official language of administration. However, the need for a more systematic provision of legal translations into Finnish became soon evident as local level administrators were often unable to understand Swedish properly and this resulted in misunderstandings and

⁷ History of the Prime Minister's Office. Retrieved 1 Feb. 2017 from <http://vnk.fi/en/history>.

administrative errors. And not only that since, without translations, a great majority of the people living in Finland were in no position to understand what the administration expected of them as outside central administration, people's knowledge of Swedish was very weak. The task of translation was not, however, an easy endeavour as administrative and legal terminology in Finnish remained very limited (Koivusalo 2007: 35).

In autumn 1734, the estate of the Finnish peasants, backed by the other estates of Finland, put forward a proposal for the establishment of a position of a Finnish translator at the Chancery Committee (*kanslikollegium*) in Stockholm. The proposal was successful, and the first Finnish translator started in the employment of the Committee in spring 1735 with the task of ensuring that laws and decrees were correctly and carefully translated into Finnish. The position was not, however, made permanent until 1778. Once established, the position of the Finnish translator remained part of central administration until the end of the Swedish rule in Finland in 1809. (Juva 1946: 195–196, 220; Koivusalo 2007: 38)

Based on Juva's account (1946: 221), it should also be noted that the importance of the 18th century translators is not restricted to translations only because they often engaged in activities beyond their assigned responsibilities and, by doing so, served the role of the Finnish people's ombudsman and Finland's permanent representative in the capital. Also, even though the office of the Finnish translator was not the first or the only translator post at the Chancery Committee, it carries particular significance to the present study as it is the first official translator position for the purposes of Finland's central administration – it can be considered as the first cornerstone in the long process of building up the government translation services in Finland.

2.1.2 AUTONOMOUS ERA UNDER THE RUSSIAN RULE IN 1809–1917

In the 1809, Finland became an autonomous grand duchy under the Russian Empire but, in line with a proposal put forward by the Finnish estates, Swedish remained the country's official language (Tommola 2008: 69). The Russians did not, however, object to the use of Finnish either and, for example, the sovereign pledge signed by Czar Alexander I on 27 March 1809 was translated and distributed not only in Swedish but also in Finnish.⁸

Finland's own central governing body, the Governing Council (*hallituskonselji*), was established in autumn 1809 and it held its first working session on 3 October 1809 in Turku (Savolainen 2011: 11–12). However, as pointed out by Karl William Rauhala (1915: 54), the Governing Council's rules of procedure made no specific reference to the language in which matters were to be handled within the Council as it was generally expected that, with its

⁸ Printed copy of the sovereign pledge, National Archives. The text was not, however, translated by a translator but by the Secretary of State for the Grand Duchy of Finland, R. H. Rehnbinder. In 1808, Rehnbinder had also been involved in the translation of the proposal for the establishment of Finland's first own governing body, the Governing Council, from Swedish into French (Savolainen 2011: 9–10).

official position, Swedish would also be the language of the Grand Duchy's administration. The first permanent Finnish translator's position was established at the Administrative Department for General Management (*kansliatoimituskunta*) of the Governing Council's Economic Division (*talousosasto*) in April 1810 (Spåre 1863: 579). One of the newly appointed translator's duties is likely to have been the translation of the Council's rules of procedure from Swedish into Finnish in line with a decision made at the Governing Council's first working session (Savolainen 2011: 13). The first Russian translator was employed to the Governing Council in October 1819 (Spåre 1863: 580).⁹ It should be noticed that at that time there were no separate translators for translations from and into Swedish as the Finnish and Russian translators were expected to translate between all three languages (Thylin-Klaus 2012: 264). This was to change only in the year 1917.

During the first half of the 19th century, the Senate's statutes were all published in Swedish and only some of them were translated into Finnish and/or Russian, and the availability of a translation was indicated in the Swedish original. It was only with the establishment of the Statute Book of Finland in 1860 that access was always made to a complete version in Finnish as well. Due to Finland's political situation, in 1903–1905 the Statute Book was published in a form containing a Russian, a Finnish and a Swedish version of each provision, in that order. (Savolainen 2011: 15)

During the autonomous era, the Russian czars issued a number of provisions and imperial manifestos that related either directly or indirectly to the employment of translators within the then Finland's government. The translators' role is accentuated also by the fact that *translator* is listed as one of the entries in the very first public register for the Statute Book of Finland published in 1873.¹⁰ It is especially during the latter half of the 19th century and early 20th century that the visibility of government translators in terms of the number of statutes relating to their profession becomes notable. The content of the language-related statutes ranged from general obligations concerning the organisation of translation services to detailed provisions on the Senate's translators' pay and job titles. The number of translators also continued to grow and by the end of the century the Senate employed five Russian translators and four Finnish translators (Savolainen 2011: 28). The Senate's translators were also included in the official ranking of the grand duchy's public officials – the ranking consisted of fourteen categories and between 1826 and 1910 the Senate's highest-ranking translator had risen from category nine to category six.¹¹

⁹ In 1812, it was stipulated that by 1818 all the new public employees must have certified knowledge of Russian (Tynnilä & Savolainen 1992: 98–99).

¹⁰ Sakregister till Finlands författningssamling. Hänförande sig till Författnings- och Brefsamlingarne från år 1808 till 1860.

¹¹ Hans Kejsrerliga Majestäts Rådigst fastställde Rang-Ordning för Finland (1826) and Armollinen Asetus venäjänkielenkääntäjän-viroista Keisarillisessa Suomen Senaatissa. (21/1910). Riikonen states in his article (2005: 56) that the highest-ranking translator in 1897 was in category 7 but the 1910 decree places the Senate's highest ranking (Russian) translator in category 6. It is true, however, that the rank was brought down to category 7 in 1917.

The 20th century also witnessed some important provisions governing the official standing and use of languages in Finland. This is not surprising given that this period in Finland's history was characterised by important developments in the overall language situation which was affected, on the one hand, by the struggle between Fennomans (the Finnish movement) and Svecomans (the Swedish movement) and, on the other hand, by the Russian czars' Russification efforts (Ylikangas 1996: 488–513).

In 1892, the Senate's translators were transferred to the Office of the Economic Division (*talousosaston kanslia*)¹² where they were organised into a translators' office (*kielenkääntäjäkonttori*)¹³ (Savolainen 2011: 27; Thylin-Klaus 2012: 264). In June 1917, the Senate employed its first translators to translate between Finnish and Swedish only¹⁴ and, in November, the Finnish Senate adopted a decree on the establishment of the Senate's Translation Unit (*käännöstoimisto*)¹⁵ at the Economic Division's Office. The new Translation Unit, operating under the responsibility of the Economic Division's vice-chair (later the Prime Minister¹⁶), comprised three language divisions – Finnish, Swedish and Russian – and it was to provide the translation services needed at the Senate. Each translator was to work between the languages he or she was best capable of, but also required to translate into any of the three languages according to his or her ability to do so. The Translation Unit had its own director (*tirehtori*), three senior translators responsible for the running of the language divisions, four assistant senior translators, four first translators and four second translators. Based on a proposal by the director, the vice-chair of the Senate's Economic Division also had the authority to employ extraordinary translators.

The decree on the establishment of the Senate's Translation Unit also contained a number of provisions on the rights and responsibilities of the director and those of the translators. It is therefore justified to argue that, although the provision of government translation services had been subject to various statutes throughout the 19th and early 20th century, it is this particular decree that laid down the foundation for the independent organisation of government in-house translation services as a coordinated function of its own. It is also worth noticing that the given name, *Käännöstoimisto*, was to serve the Finnish government until the year 2015; that is for almost a hundred years.

¹² In 1918, the Office of the Senate Economic Division was renamed the Prime Minister's Office (*valtionneuvoston kanslia*) (Savolainen 2011: 43).

¹³ Retrieved 7 Feb. 2017 from <http://fho.sls.fi/uppslagsord/1085/translatorkontoret/>.

¹⁴ Asetus suomen- ja ruotsinkielenkääntäjäin viroista Suomen Senaatissa (46/1917) (Decree on the Finnish and Swedish Translators' Offices at Finland's Senate). This decree granted the Senate the right to employ a senior translator and a translator for the purpose of translating between Finnish and Swedish only.

¹⁵ Asetus Käännöstoimiston perustamisesta Suomen Senaattiin (107/1917) (Decree on the Establishment of the Translation Unit at Finland's Senate). The decree amended and brought together earlier provisions concerning the employment of the Senate's translators.

¹⁶ History of the Prime Minister's Office. Retrieved 3 Feb. 2017 from <http://vnk.fi/en/history>.

2.1.3 INDEPENDENT FINLAND IN THE 20TH CENTURY

By the early 20th century, most of the Senate's documents were drafted in Finnish and then translated into Swedish (Savolainen 2011: 25). However, when Finland gained its independence in December 1917, the position of Swedish as the country's second national language was also guaranteed in the first Constitution of Finland.¹⁷ Over the years, compliance with the law was ensured by other statutes relating to the use of the national languages, starting with the Language Act and the Decree on the Implementation of the Language Act in 1922.¹⁸ With the development and growth of government administration in the 20th century, the demand for translations between Finnish and Swedish continued to increase and it soon became evident that the Translation Unit alone could not provide the ministries with all the necessary services. Therefore, ministries started to employ Swedish translators for their own administrative needs whereas the Translation Unit at the Prime Minister's Office specialised mainly in the translation of government texts for the purposes of legislation.

It should also be noted that an interesting development followed only a year after the Translation Unit had begun its operations in November 1917. It started with the establishment of a department for foreign affairs (*ulkoasiaintoimituskunta*) under the Senate's Economic Division in June 1918.¹⁹ In addition to permanent public employees, the department was also to employ a necessary number of extraordinary public employees, translators, copyists and service staff. The decree did not lay down provisions on the duties assigned to the translators but, based on the responsibilities of the department for foreign affairs, it is, however, safe to assume that the translators were expected to translate between languages other than Finnish and Swedish.

This becomes evident in November, when the decree on the establishment of the Senate's Translation Unit²⁰ was amended so that the Translation Unit was to have divisions for translations between the national languages only – Finnish and Swedish – and the Translation Unit's Russian translators were to be transferred to the newly established department for foreign affairs (Thylin-Klaus 2012: 264). However, the decree also stipulated that translators at the Translation Unit who knew Russian had a responsibility to translate between the national languages and Russian when necessary. Similarly, all the translators had an obligation to translate between the national languages and any foreign language that they were capable of. This, nevertheless, marked an important step in the development of the government in-house translation services as, from thereon, legal translations between the two national

¹⁷ Suomen Hallitusmuoto (94/1919) (Constitution Act of the Republic of Finland).

¹⁸ Kielilaki (148/1922) (Language Act) and Asetus kielilain täytäntöönpanosta (311/1922) (Decree on the Implementation of the Language Act).

¹⁹ Asetus Ulkoasiaintoimituskunnan perustamisesta Suomen Senaatin Talousosastoon (71/1918) (Decree on the Establishment of the Department for Foreign Affairs under the Senate's Economic Division).

²⁰ Asetus Senaatin Käännöstoimiston uudestaan muodostamisesta (159/1918) (Decree on the Restructuring of the Senate's Translation Unit).

languages of Finland were assigned to the mandate of the Translation Unit whereas translations from the national languages into foreign languages and vice versa were to be handled by other divisions (later the ministries). Again, this division of responsibilities was to serve the Finnish government for almost a hundred years.

According to statistics published by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (2009a & b), Finland's relations with foreign states and activities on international forums increased considerably during the latter half of the 20th century. In 1917–1949, Finland entered into 100 bilateral and 102 multilateral agreements with foreign states whereas in 1950–1999 Finland signed 602 bilateral and 453 multilateral agreements with foreign states, plus 108 agreements with international organisations. The same trend applies to Finland's relations with the Nordic countries. During the latter half of the century, Finland also joined the European Free Trade Association, the Council of Europe, the Council of the Baltic Sea States, the European Union, the World Trade Organization, the Arctic Council, and a number of other sector-specific organisations.

The ministries' increased involvement in international activities and forums was reflected in the need for translations into English (Savolainen 2011: 58) and, consequently, in the number of the ministries' own English translators, too. Based on the responses received to an information request I sent to the ministries in spring 2014, only three ministries employed an English translator before the 1980s. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs reported of an employee with French translation duties from the 1920s but was unable to provide information about the ministry's first English translator. According to the archives of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, the ministry employed a person with a clear English translator profile and with a diploma in English language as the ministry's extraordinary translator in September 1949. The next ministry to present precise information about its English translator is the then Ministry of Trade and Commerce which established a post for an English translator in September 1970. All the other ministries employed their first English translators in the 1980s and 1990s – the Prime Minister's Office being the last in line as its coordinator for English translations started on a fixed-term position only in April 1999, on the eve of the forthcoming Presidency of the Council of the European Union. The post was later turned into a permanent English translator's position.

It should also be noted that the Translation Unit at the Prime Minister's Office was assigned new responsibilities with the establishment of a Terminology Service under its purview in 1988. The new service specialised in multilingual terminology work by compiling glossaries and offering free advice on administrative terminology. Unlike the ministries' translators, the mandate of the Terminology Service covered not only the ministries but anyone in need of advice on terms related to Finnish public administration.

2.2 GOVERNMENT TRANSLATION SERVICES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

2.2.1 GOVERNMENT TRANSLATION SERVICES AT THE TIME OF DATA COLLECTION

Until March 2015, the Finnish ministries continued to organise the provision of their translation services independently. At the time of collecting the data for the present study in 2013–2014, the Finnish government consisted of twelve ministries and offered 68 positions in translation-related duties, of which 58 were earmarked for translator posts.²¹ Almost half of the positions were situated at the Prime Minister's Office as it continued to house the Government Translation Unit with the responsibility to translate legislation, and related documents, from Finnish into Swedish for the whole government.²² Through its Terminology Service, the Translation Unit also conducted multilingual terminology work and coordinated the provision of foreign language translation services for the Prime Minister's Office.²³

In 2014, the Government Translation Unit at the Prime Minister's Office had a total of 21 translator person years and it also employed other language specialists, including a legal reviser, terminologists, language revisers, a language technology specialist, an information specialist, an administrative assistant and three managers. With the exception of the Ministry of the Environment, the other ministries offered translator positions only.²⁴ All the ministries employed Swedish translators but only ten offered positions for English translators and only two employed Russian translators. However, the total number of government translators with English as a working language was 16 (28% of all translator posts) as some translators translated both into Swedish and English whereas in person years the English translators accounted for only 11 person years (19% of all translator person years). It should also be noticed that, in 2011–2013, the Prime Minister's Office had had a position for an English terminologist-translator, but as part of a reshuffling of positions in connection with retirement arrangements in 2014, the post was left vacant. The distribution of the positions in person years is described in Table 1.

²¹ Information based on statistics compiled in connection with the central government restructuring project in 2013–2014, Prime Minister's Office. Vacant and fixed-term positions are not included.

²² Valtioneuvoston kanslian työjärjestys (242/2012) (Rules of Procedure of the Prime Minister's Office).

²³ Valtioneuvoston asetus valtioneuvoston kansliasta (393/2007) (Government Decree on the Prime Minister's Office).

²⁴ In addition to a Swedish translator, the Ministry of the Environment had a post for a native-speaker English Adviser.

Table 1 *Ministries' translators and other language specialists in 2014, person years*

Ministry	Swedish translators	English translators	Russian translators	Other language specialists	Total (person yrs)
Prime Minister's Office	20 ²⁵	1		9	30
Ministry for Foreign Affairs	2	2	4		8
Ministry of Justice	4.7	0.3			5
Ministry of the Interior	2	2			4
Ministry of Defence	1	1			2
Ministry of Finance	1				1
Ministry of Education	2.6	1			3.6
Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry	1	1			2
Ministry of Transport and Communications	1	1			2
Ministry of Employment and the Economy	3		1		4
Ministry of Social Affairs and Health	2.3	1.7			4
Ministry of the Environment	1			1	2
Total (person yrs)	41.6	11	5	10	67.6

It should be noticed that, in a given ministry, the translators did not necessarily work in the same unit or department. That was the case in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, and Ministry of the Environment. The place in the organisation did not, however, correlate with the translators' duties – irrespective of their organisational location, they could equally well serve only one or several units/departments or the ministry as a whole. However, the only ministry providing translation and language services to the other ministries was the Prime Minister's Office. The Prime Minister's Office also coordinated the work of the Swedish Language Board which served “as a coordinating body for questions relating to the use of Swedish by government authorities” with particular focus on legal language.²⁶

Another fact relevant to the government translators' work is that the main body of the Swedish translators' work consisted of legal translation and texts translated mainly for national purposes and/or the fostering of the Nordic cooperation. At the same time, the English translators' work centred on texts intended for international audiences and/or purposes, and legal translation

²⁵ The Prime Minister's Office also employed two translators on long fixed-term employment relationships.

²⁶ Valtioneuvoston asetus valtioneuvoston ruotsin kielen lautakunnasta (1037/2000) (Government Decree on the Swedish Language Board). Quotation retrieved 31 Jul. 2013 from <http://vnk.fi/hankkeet/ruotsin-kielen-lautakunta/fi158021.jsp>.

only accounted for 10% of their work (in 2015 figures).²⁷ For this reason, the government English translators represented a different kind of established institutional translation within the Finnish government. The same was naturally true of the small group of Russian translators.

Due to the small number of in-house translators, each ministry acquired translation services from external translation providers, too. In 2014, five ministries outsourced texts to the translation agencies selected on the basis of a framework agreement administered by the central procurement unit of the Finnish Government, Hansel Ltd. The other ministries had other outsourcing arrangements organised through independent tendering procedures or they used either freelancers or translations agencies outside the framework agreement.

The ministries' translation services were overhauled as part of the central government restructuring project (KEHU) in 2015. As the data for this study was collected in 2013–2014, attention is not given to the new organisation. It should, however, be noticed that all the translators participating in this study were aware that the organisation of government translation services was to undergo a thorough restructuring very soon, and this is to be taken into account in the analysis of their responses.

2.2.2 GOVERNMENT LANGUAGE SPECIALISTS' NETWORK 2000–2014

The picture of the government translation services in the 21st century is not complete without a short account of the Government Language Specialists' Network. This is because the network is an important example of the government translators' inclination towards own-initiative action which is to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

As the translator positions were distributed across various ministries, opportunities for exchange of information and professional support were extremely fragmented. The lack of interministerial cooperation and coordination was accentuated during Finland's first Presidency of the Council of the European Union in 1999. During the six-month Presidency, the government translators came to realise that better and systemised flows of information across, and sometimes even within, the ministries would benefit all the government language specialists. As a consequence, the English translators from the Prime Minister's Office and the then Ministry of Trade and Commerce made an initiative for the establishment of a government translators' network in summer 2000. A meeting was convened in August to discuss the idea and it was positively received. This marked the beginning of the network's fifteen-year history.²⁸ (Virtanen 2010: 2–3)

²⁷ Systematic statistics on the government translation volumes available from 2015 onwards only.

²⁸ In 2011, the name of the network was changed to Government Language Specialists' Network to better describe the scope of its participants.

The network was open for all the government language specialists, not only translators, and it is important to notice that the network was never officially appointed and, consequently, it operated on an informal and voluntary basis. The government English translators seem to have taken a particularly keen interest and shown active involvement in the network as their number, for example in 2013 when the interviews were collected, accounted for almost half of all the translators participating in the meetings. This is of note and relevant to the present study because the number of the English translator posts only accounted for 28% of all the then government translator posts.

Meetings were organised approximately once every two months, with a rotating chairmanship. As certain questions were highly language-specific or relevant to only some translators, the language specialists also met in smaller groups and then shared the information with the whole network. The groups focused on issues relating to language technology, public tendering, clear language and communications, training, and best practices. To promote professional development in a more systematic way, the network arranged training in areas such as legal translation and formal correspondence in English. Since its first meeting, the network also aimed to promote translators' and other language specialists' wellbeing at work and ensure opportunities for wider professional learning. To this end, the network organised fact-finding excursions at home and abroad. (Translator network 2005: 34–35; Virtanen 2010: 4–7)

The network also issued a number of language-related guidelines and recommendations to be followed in the ministries. Although the network could not issue any binding rules, it gradually gained foothold as the government translators' "informal spokesman". The first body to officially recognise the significance of the network's efforts was the trade organisation Translation Industry Professionals KAJ which in 2009 granted the network a scholarship for its dynamic and proactive work to develop government translation services.²⁹ This was an unexpected but a truly welcome gesture as it recognised the network's status as the government translators' voice even beyond administration. (Virtanen 2010: 8)

In light of the present study, the network is relevant because from the very beginning it also draw attention to the translators' professional profile and status in the government. One of the network's very first statements was a comprehensive summary of the different language specialist duties in ministries and the related professional requirements. The aim was to improve general understanding of the translators' and other language specialists' work within government. The network enhanced the government translators' and other language specialists' visibility outside the government, too, by maintaining a regular column in the *Kääntäjä* magazine published by the

²⁹ Retrieved 15 Feb. 2017 from http://www.kaj.fi/ajankohtaista/uutisarkisto/kaj_myonsi_stipendin_ministerioiden_kaantajien_verk_ostolle.1602.news?1602_o=10.

Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL). (Virtanen 2010: 4–5, 7)

It can be argued that the network's systematic and long-term experience in efforts to promote and rationalise the provision of government translation services facilitated and paved way for the reorganisation of translation services as part of the central government restructuring project initiated in 2011 – a fact also acknowledged by the project management in a number of occasions. The restructuring project was also to mark the end of the network's rationale to exist and this is to be examined next.

2.3 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT PROJECTS AND REPORTS RELATING TO THE ORGANISATION OF GOVERNMENT TRANSLATION SERVICES IN 1985–2014

With a growing need for translations, the system where the Finnish ministries organised the provision of their translation services independently – based on their own needs and circumstances – was not ideal in every respect and the issue had been addressed in a number of central administration projects over the years. Due to Finland's official bilingualism, the main focus of the projects has been on the organisation and development of the translation services in Swedish and it is only very recently that attention has been geared towards the provision of foreign language services, too. Therefore, it is impossible to draw a coherent picture of the efforts that would have concerned the government English translators only due to the marginal role given to translation services in foreign languages prior to the 2000s. However, an overview of the projects and reports relating to the organisation of government translation as a whole is important for understanding the continuum of factors informing the government English translators' occupational setting.

During the chosen period of examination, between 1985 and 2014, it is possible to identify fifteen reports that bear direct relevance to the organisation of institutional translation within the Finnish government (Annex I). The compilation of the reports has produced a myriad of working group papers, interim reports, requests for opinion and consultation rounds, but here focus is restricted to the published final reports. Based on their main orientation, the reports can be categorised under three headings:

1. Reports on ways to develop the coordination of government in-house translation services.
2. Reports on ways to regionalise the government translation services.
3. Reports on ways to pool the government translation services within the government.

Reports published in 1985–1996 fall within the first category and they all draw attention to the growing need of translations, especially in Swedish but also in foreign languages. The reports also provide an overview of the organisation of the translation services, identify shortcomings and areas for development, and put forward a number of recommendations for improvement. The recommendations relate to the general coordination of translation services and revision of translations, to the creation of mechanisms for quality assurance, and factors relating to translators' recruitment, training, pay and tools. Special attention is given to the problems concerning the quality and availability of legal translations in Swedish. A clear need for a more coordinated approach is recognised but it is considered that this could be achieved without introducing substantial changes to the existing decentralised model by extending and enhancing, for example, the coordination role of the Prime Minister's Office and its Swedish Translation Unit. The proposal for the establishment of a separate unit for multilingual terminology work at the Prime Minister's Office falls within this first category of reports, too. This accentuates the emerging role of foreign languages, especially English, within the Finnish government although the relative share remained small in comparison to the Swedish translation service, both in terms of translation volumes and number of translators.

The second category consists of reports published in 2001–2009 and there the main focus is on the regionalisation of the government translation services. It all started with the government resolution on the strategy for the relocation on state activities which concludes that in principle any unit or function can be regionalised, including administrative support services.³⁰ The resolution was followed by an act and a government decree on the mandate to relocate state units and activities which stipulate that, in decisions concerning the establishment, enlargement or restructuring of a unit or function, ministries must always give consideration to the possibility of regionalising the unit or function.³¹ In 2003, the Prime Minister's Office appointed working groups with a mandate to prepare for the regionalisation of government support services, and one of the working groups focused on customer and other support services, including translation services. The final report by the working group for relocating support services in 2009 proposed that a language service centre be established in Vaasa to operate in connection with or under the Regional State Administrative agency of Western and Inland Finland, with an antenna in Joensuu. In the first phase, the service centre was to provide those translations in Swedish and English that the ministries had acquired via outsourcing. In the second phase, all ministries' translator positions, except for those of the Swedish legal translators, would be transferred to the service centre when positions were opened due to retirement

³⁰ Translation services have generally been placed in this category.

³¹ Laki (362/2002) and valtioneuvoston asetus (567/2002) valtion yksikköjen ja toimintojen sijoittamista koskevasta toimivallasta (Act (362/2002) and Government Decree (567/2002) on the Mandate to Locate State Units and Functions).

or other reasons. This would have put an end to the English language translation provision within the government.

Based on the final report, the Government consulted the ministries in 2010 on its intent to issue a government proposal according to which the provision of government language services would be transferred from the ministries to a regional language centre. In their opinions, the ministries took a firm stand against the plan and stated, for example, that an unobstructed access to good-quality translation services was an inseparable part of ministries' communications, international activities and legislative processes and that the availability of such services could not be guaranteed from outside the government. The translators' trade organisation, Translation Industry Professionals KAJ, also opposed the regionalisation proposal and insisted on its rejection.³² The Negotiation Organisation for Public Sector Professionals JUKO had annexed its statement of disagreement to the final report. Due to the expressed opposition and change of the government composition in 2011, the project was quietly discarded.

The third category of reports focuses on the pooling of all the translation services within the government. In line with the 2011 Government Programme, the Ministry of Finance set up in 2012 an interministerial project (KEHU) with the aim of reforming government functions, finances and structures by the year 2015.³³ As part of its mandate, the group was to identify administrative and service functions that could be brought together and provided under one umbrella. Exploratory work for the possible reorganisation of the ministries' translation services started in the same year. In 2013, the Ministry of Finance appointed an interministerial working group with a mandate to examine the effects of the pooling of central administration administrative and service functions. Again, government translation services were examined as an independent function of its own. Based on the group's findings, the Prime Minister's Office appointed a project for the establishment of government administration department (VNHY 2015) in December 2013. The new department was to start its operations on 1 March 2015 and provide services to all the ministries.

The preparatory work on the restructuring of the government translation services under the VNHY 2015 project was led by the Head of the Translation Unit in close cooperation with the network for the government language specialists which guaranteed broad-based participation and involvement from every ministry. From the start, it was, however, clear that the given objective was to make profound changes to the existing model of service provision and aim for a centralised solution. At the same time, particular emphasis was placed on the fact that the aim was not to make staff cuts but rather to find ways of improving staff mobility and make more efficient use of the existing

³² Retrieved 24 Jan. 2017 from http://www.kaj.fi/ajankohtaista/uutisarkisto/valtion_kielipalvelujen_alueellistaminen_2009/valtion_kielipalvelujen_alueellistamisesta_luovuttava.1537.news.

³³ Project for the restructuring of central government. Retrieved 10 Feb. 2017 from <http://vm.fi/keskushallinnon-uudistushanke>.

resources. Based on the translators' and other language specialists' joint work, the Head of the Translation Unit submitted a recommendation which proposed that the ministries' translation and language services, regardless of the language, were to be brought together into a separate Translation and Language Division under the Government Administration Department to be established in 2015.³⁴ The Division would consist of three units – a Swedish Language Unit, a Foreign Languages Unit and a Unit for Language Support Services, each with its own head of unit. It can be concluded that, by bringing together all the government language specialists, the VNHY 2015 project formalised the functions of the Language Specialists' Network and turned, especially as regards English and Russian translation, what in 2000 had started as an informal forum for professional cooperation into a structured language division with a clear mandate and an agreed division of responsibilities. Changes to the organisation of the Swedish translation service were also considerable but, in contrast to the foreign language provision, the Swedish service was in a position to benefit from the almost hundred years of experience of organised government translation provision under the auspices of the Translation Unit.

In sum, at the time of collecting data for the present study, the government English translators constituted a relatively young and small group of professional translators in comparison to the government Swedish translators who could boast more than two hundred years of history within the Finnish government and who accounted for 72% of all government translator person years. Also, no special attention had been given to the overall organisation of the government English translation service although, in the recent past, the Finnish ministries' obligations and involvement in international arenas had increased manifold. In terms of translated texts, the main body of the English translators' work differed significantly from that of the Swedish translators, the latter focusing mainly on legal translation. Despite the lack of clear organisational policy, the government English translators had been instrumental in the setting up of the Government Language Specialists' Network and showed keen interest in better collaboration and concerted action across the ministries in matters relating to English translation. As a result, the government English translators and their perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction provide a clearly distinguishable and potentially informative case for study.

³⁴ In the course of the process, the Prime Minister's Office had undertaken measures that also facilitated the reorganisation of translation services by carrying out projects that related to the establishment of a common term bank for legal translation and a system of centralised translation memories.

PART II

3 ON THE FRAMEWORKS FOR EXAMINING TRANSLATOR STATUS AND JOB SATISFACTION

My motivation for embarking on the present research project was derived from personal feelings of unease over reported perceptions of translator status. Existing, mainly quantitative, research indicated that among professional translators translator status was perceived to be quite low. What intrigued me particularly was that, at the same time, there were studies suggesting that translators' job satisfaction was relatively high. These apparently conflicting findings prompted me to consider further viewpoints in regard to my research interest:

- Is the perception of low translator status among translators applicable to all aspects of the work, or is it possible to identify a more complex picture? Also, is the low-status perception perhaps a reflection of what the translator considers the general attitude to be in society at large, as opposed to a more personal perception of her or his own translator status?
- Assuming that the level of job satisfaction among translators is higher than one might expect given the perceived low status, it would be interesting to learn more about the factors contributing to this positive state of affairs. Is there something so deeply inherent in the profession that somehow 'protects' job satisfaction despite the apparent changes in the operating environment, for example?
- What opportunities are there for influencing factors that can enhance translator status and job satisfaction? To what extent are such opportunities recognised, sought or acted upon?

Despite my overall interest in these issues, I decided not to attempt to gain an exhaustive insight into the often perplexing and contrasting questions across a broad front, but instead to narrow my focus and to seek greater insight into a specific area of interest. Consequently, I aimed for an in-depth examination among a carefully defined research population. Due to my long-time employment within central government in Finland, there was a natural and easily accessible research frame for my project: government translators, specifically those translating into English.

My original research plan, completed in 2013, was based on the idea of collecting data based on semi-structured individual interviews focused on themes relevant to perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction. The aim was that the data would, first and foremost, provide new insights and explain factors underlying the observed perceptions. It would also allow comparison of the results with earlier research. Any indication of the government English translators' own action was also of particular interest.

The following year, after having conducted the interviews, I discovered that a wider interest in translator status in Finland was emerging, and that similar research on translator status was to be undertaken in the form of a nationwide questionnaire study among professional translators. In connection with this, I was given the opportunity to participate in administering a questionnaire among Finnish government translators to collect quantitative data on their status perceptions. However, the nature of the questionnaire data only allowed measurement of the degree of existing status perceptions, and so the results complement my earlier interview data in this respect only. Therefore, as originally envisaged, the interviews provided the main source of data and form the principal basis underpinning the explanatory power of the research. The interview data provides narrative information with which to identify and analyse the factors behind the status and job satisfaction perceptions in broader terms and potentially to cast light on the agency of the government English translators.

I will next discuss how my chosen research path led to the project being anchored within the field of Sociology of Translation and how it became necessary to look beyond the concepts and tools of Translation Studies.

3.1 SOCIOLOGY OF TRANSLATION

The conceptualisation of translators' role(s) and the interest in that role has changed profoundly in the course of the development of Translation Studies. Until the 1970s, the focus was on translation strategies, practices and the ensuing results while translators as independent objects of study took only second place. However, interest in translators on their own right started to take hold in the 1980s.

With Holz-Mänttari's theory of translatorial action (1984, 1986) and the introduction of skopos theory (Reiss and Vermeer 1984), parts of Translation Studies became interested in the translator and developed a view of the translator as an agent and an expert. The translator was no longer just a transcoder of information but an active player in the establishment of the skopos and in fulfilling the purpose of the target text and, if required by the skopos, the translator was no longer tightly bound by the structure and exact formulation of the source text. In skopos theory, the image of the translator as an expert in translatorial

action was and is crucial and has changed the way in which we translate and teach translation.

(Dam & Zethsen 2014: 261–262)

The new perspective on translators as independent actors with distinct professional competences paved way for the emergence of the sociological turn in Translation Studies where the main focus of interest may, indeed, be placed on the translator. More importantly, the Sociology of Translation does not limit itself to the role and action of the translator but extends itself to include the whole of the sociological context affecting and being affected by the translator.

According to Michaela Wolf (2010: 337), the Sociology of Translation comprises research based on “the insight that translation is an activity deeply affected by social configurations”. This is because translational acts are always performed by individuals who make up part of a social system and because such acts are inevitably influenced by social institutions (Wolf 2007: 1). In short, the starting point of the sociological approaches in Translation Studies is that, in all its forms, “translation, as both an enactment and a product, is necessarily embedded within social contexts” (ibid.). Due to this inevitable precondition, Wolf (ibid.: 6) also emphasises that recognition of the social dimension within translation is nothing new; it has always formed part of translation research and in his influential “map” of the discipline, James Holmes (1972/2002: 190) also suggests Translation Studies should include an area of applied translation studies with the following objective:

The task of the translation scholar in this area is to render informed advice to others in defining the place and role of translators, translating, and translations in society at large: such questions, for instance, as determining what translations need to be translated in a given socio-economic situation, what the social and economic position of translators is and should be ...

By the late 2010s, Translation Studies has witnessed a fair amount of socially motivated research characterised by the absence of strictly text-bound approaches. Such research has been strongly influenced by the sociological theories and frameworks put forward by, for example, Pierre Bourdieu (field theory), Bernard Lahire (theory of the plural actor), Bruno Latour (actor-network theory), and Niklas Luhmann (theory of social systems).³⁵ Recently, the field has also experienced an increasing interest in empirical research with the aim of researching translation in its real-life contexts as, due to their situated and embedded nature, translation-related phenomena are often not best examined in laboratory settings only. For this reason, as pointed out by Hanna Risku et al. (2017), the scope of TS research has broadened and currently covers a wide range of studies examining translators and interpreters

³⁵ See, for example, Chesterman (2006: 13–18) and Wolf (2007: 18–25).

in their actual work situations and environments, without forgetting the socio-cognitive processes at play.³⁶

Wolf (2006: 10–11; 2007: 14–18) proposes that social approaches within the sphere of Translation Studies can be divided into three categories: (1) sociology of the agents; (2) sociology of the translation process; and (3) sociology of the cultural product. Although the ‘social’ perspective within translation is different in each category, Wolf attaches particular importance to the fact that in each case the focus of the social investigation must relate to issues directly concerning translation activity and warns against a situation where there is “the danger of a sociology of translation existing without translation” (2007: 27). With the sociological turn in Translation Studies, the field has, however, witnessed a growing interest in translation as profession and translators as a social and professional group (Angelelli 2012: 127).

Andrew Chesterman (2006, 2007, 2009) provides further perspectives on the nature of translation sociology. Chesterman’s (2009: 16) argumentation also starts with the assumption that a sociology of translation comprises three distinctive subareas, very similar to those proposed by Wolf:

- the sociology of *translations*, as products in an international market;
- the sociology of *translators*; and
- the sociology of *translating*, i.e. the translating process.

Chesterman suggests that out of this three-pronged division, the *sociology of translators* could also be referred to as “*TranslaTOR Studies*” (id.: 13) where translators can be studied both as individuals and members of certain networks (Wolf 2006: 11). The most distinctive characteristic of Chesterman’s Translator Studies is that the prime focus is placed on translators, and texts come only second. Unlike Wolf, Chesterman (2006: 21) suggests that, in addition to questions relating directly to translation practice, attention should also be devoted to issues that enable an examination of other phenomena relevant to the relations between translators and the agents pertinent to the process. Consequently, Chesterman (ibid.) proposes that research under Translator Studies could, indeed, include questions relating, for example, to:

- What is the status of the various agents? How is this status manifested? How do translators perceive their own status? ...
- What is the public perception of people involved in translation practice?

Chesterman (2009: 19) also posits that if assumed that Translation Studies comprises four main branches – textual, cultural, cognitive and sociological – it is then only the textual branch that cannot logically be included within the scope of Translator Studies due to its restricted focus only on what is textual. The three other branches provide a range of fruitful topics to be investigated

³⁶ For a concise overview of the recent studies, see, for example, Risku et al. (2017).

under the subarea of the sociology of translators. This finds support also from Tuija Kinnunen and Kaisa Koskinen (2010: 7) who have proposed that “... status is social by nature (as it is conferred to an individual, or institution, by others)...”.

With its explicit focus on the perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction and on factors giving rise to these perceptions, the present thesis falls within the sociological branch of the proposed Translator Studies (Figure 1). I also argue that the chosen focus is particularly relevant to Translator Studies as translators’ perceptions of their status and job satisfaction are not sprung out of nothing but, on the contrary, embrace a whole range of factors both within and outside the world of translation. Therefore, in order to increase knowledge of the anatomy, manifestation and impact of these perceptions, research in Translator Studies requires and also provides opportunities for new interdisciplinary approaches. I would further argue that the building up of such interdisciplinary knowledge about Translator Studies should not be left to scholars outside Translation Studies alone as the research calls for a thorough understanding of translation and its particular characteristics for it to be successful. It is also my firm belief that Translator Studies can only benefit from an increased understanding of job satisfaction which, due to its very nature, has an important intrinsic value to any professional work environment. Considering the limited research population of the Finnish government English translators, the present study enables a deep insight to be gained into “the professional self-perception of translators by revealing the complexities and emphasizing the cultural aspects of this endeavour” (Schögler 2017: 405) – here, cultural referring to the English translators’ work environment and its special characteristics as a translating institution.

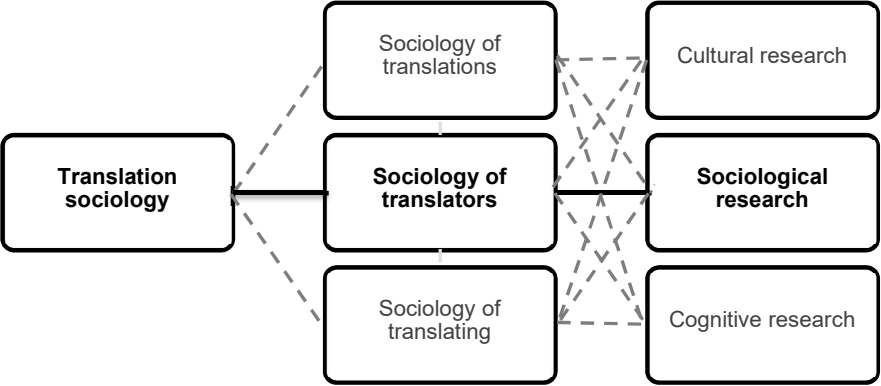


Figure 1 Focus of the present thesis within the field of translation sociology (adapted from Chesterman 2006, 2009)

However, it is not only translation theory but also the field of translation practice that has experienced far-reaching change during the 2000s. This is mainly due to digitalisation and the ensuing rapid development of language technology. It is no exaggeration to say that they have had profound impact on both the work of individual translators and the language industry as a whole. Digitalisation challenges the very notion of being a ‘translator’ as it calls for continuous updating and upgrading of technological competence, and investment, not to mention interest, in the new translation tools and skills. For its part, digitalisation has also enabled and contributed to the emergence of the present-day language industry with its myriad of complex production nets, often based on long and meandering chains of outsourcing. It is safe to argue that the structural change brought about by digitalisation has impacted translators’ employment relationships, working conditions and the image of the profession at an unprecedented speed. In addition to positive implications in the form of, for example, more effective and versatile translation tools and increased opportunities for professional networking, digitalisation has also introduced a whole new series of challenges and threats to the profession.

In the context of the Finnish government, the position of translation into Swedish has been on a different footing from translation into the other languages. Due to its standing as the country’s second official language, legal translation into Swedish is an inherent part of the legislative process³⁷ and thus less susceptible to, for example, uncontrolled outsourcing. Due to the legal provisions on the use of Swedish in Finland, Jannika Lassus (2014: 230) also suggests that the public sector Swedish translators enjoy an almost privileged position in contrast to the other translators in Finland; particularly in terms of opportunities for permanent employment, for example. Yet, the legally conferred position does not, by any means, signify that the government Swedish translation would be immune to the ongoing digital upheaval and its impact on the future of the profession.

In her article discussing translation and technology in light of Heidegger’s philosophy, Ritva Hartama-Heinonen (2013) lists a number of real and tangible dangers facing the future of translation. According to Hartama-Heinonen (ead.: 9-10), in the early 2010s, the following threats had been repeatedly referred to in SKTL’s publication, *Kääntäjä*, and in the publication of Translation Industry Professional KAJ, *Kajawa*:

- threats concerning status (low status, low visibility, and low pay)
- increasing pace of change in the overall organisation and running of the translation field
- quality issues
- increased “technicalisation”
- increased use of non-qualified translators³⁸

³⁷ See, for example, Nordman (2009) on the processes and products of legal translation in Finland.

³⁸ My translation from Finnish.

Hartama-Heinonen finishes her discussion on translation and its future in relation to technology with a rhetorical question on whether translation has been made hostage to technology or whether there is sufficient courage and a peace of mind to manoeuvre amidst these changing conditions (ead.: 15).

The aspects that hinder, impede or simply change the work and working conditions obviously impact the government translators' work in Finland as well. Moreover, prior to the 2015 restructuring, the government English translators were often in a situation where they had to face the changes shaping their professional landscape on their own in each ministry. However, in the present thesis the angle and scope of Hartama's question is purposefully turned upside down and instead of threats, the aim is to examine whether, in the fluctuating circumstances, there is room for positive experiences with regard to the perceptions of professional status and job satisfaction. That being the case, the objective was not, however, to present a rosy and falsely idealised picture of translation within the Finnish government but, in line with the idea of positive psychology, to bring to the fore and "shine the light of scientific inquiry" on "the wellsprings, processes and mechanisms that lead to desirable outcomes" (Linley et al. 2006: 5, 8).

The emphasis on the positive aspects of translators' working life is relevant because although with seemingly no tangible connections with the end product, status and job satisfaction seem to be intertwined and of significance, for example, to the quality of the output and to translators' wellbeing in general.

The prevailing perceptions also mirror translators' attitudes to work and may encourage, or discourage, professional development, motivation and, indeed, desire to work as translator. It can be further argued that, to a certain extent, status perceptions manifest translators' opportunities to be heard and engaged in their wider social context as well. Furthermore, examining translators' status and job satisfaction hand in hand allows to test Ruokonen's (2012: 15) finding which suggests that translators satisfied with their working conditions may be likely to rank its status higher, too. By identifying factors affecting these perceptions positively, it may also be possible to envisage measures for their advancement in similar kinds of occupational settings.

Against this background, the Chapter provides a presentation of positive psychology as a framework with which to approach the research objective and obtain an insight into the data. However, with a background in language and management studies, I as a researcher do not claim expertise in the field of positive psychology and must emphasise that the aim is not to contribute to the theories of that particular field. In other words, my purpose is not to provide an in-depth analysis of the data within the framework positive psychology as that would be both unfeasible and beyond the scope of the present study. Rather, the objective is to explore new approaches and concepts with which to extract, organise and analyse data and, in doing so, provide new perspectives to translation research within the areas of translator status, job satisfaction and other work-related emotions. To be specific, in the present

thesis, positive psychology provides an ideological framework through which to view and analyse the data and a justification for conducting scientific study on possible positives of the government translators' working life. The idea of examining translators' perceptions and affects is also supported by Séverine Hubscher-Davidson who argues (2018: 3) that Translation Studies should also cover translators' attitudes, personalities and dispositions to complement the existing information on translators' cognitive processes.

The Chapter also outlines what is meant by an occupation's status and then explains how it can be and has been assessed – first in general and then specifically in relation to Translation Studies. Particular attention is devoted to the main findings of status-related studies within Translation Studies; with specific emphasis on those that are of significant relevance to the present study.

In line with the second objective of the present study, the Chapter continues with a presentation of job satisfaction and an overview of earlier translation centred research on the issue. In addition, it introduces a model with which to map factors that may contribute to the examined state of affairs. Consideration is also given to a means of analysing translators' own action in the process. In this connection, the Chapter provides a description of the Job Demands-Resources model and the concept of job crafting. Also, due to the respondent population, emphasis is throughout the Chapter purposely given to studies conducted within or bearing relevance to the Finnish context.

3.2 SHORT INTRODUCTION TO POSITIVE PSYCHOLOGY

The current trends in positive organisational research owe much to the positive psychology movement which has gained momentum especially in the 21st century. In 2000, the *American Psychologist* published a special issue focusing on positive psychology. The issue was edited by two American psychologists, Martin Seligman and Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi, who argued that, in the past, too much scholarly effort had been placed on the study of the negatives in human behaviour whereas fairly little was still known about what made people thrive and willing to excel. Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi did not, by no means, claim to be the first or only researchers with interest in the field of positive psychology but state that earlier approaches in the 20th century had not gained adequate foothold due to, for example, historical circumstances and lack of systematic theoretical framework and research designs.³⁹ However, due to the apparent negativity bias, Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi considered that it was high time that equal effort be placed on the examination of the value of what is positive in life.

³⁹ In Sweden, for example, the term '*arbetsglädje*' (~job satisfaction) was used in a publication as early as in 1937, and in 1971 Bertil Gardell published his doctoral thesis on the same theme. For a concise historical overview of the background of positive psychology, see e.g. Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000.

Positive psychology was later defined by Shelly L. Gable and Jonathan Haidt (2005: 104) as “the study of the conditions and processes that contribute to the flourishing or optimal functioning of people, groups, and institutions”. In other words, instead of trying to identify and analyse the reasons for human suffering and problems, the aim of positive psychology is to learn more about the inspiring, motivating, and nurturing elements of human experience and existence. At the same time, the intention is not to shut eyes to the negative aspects of life but rather approach the same issue from an opposite point of view. Positive psychology also challenges the assumption that setbacks and negative incidents would yield more authentic, or more reliable, information about human behaviour than incidents of positive experiences and encounters. According to positive psychologists, the “power of negative” is a fallacy resulting, to a certain extent, from the very nature of the negative occurrences which disrupt and violate positive processes and, in doing so, become the centre of attention. Here the starting point is that most people are contented with their life; or consider it to be at least ok. (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Gable & Haidt 2005; Baumgardner & Crothers 2014)

The positive approach is not, however, without its criticism and, over the years, it has been blamed for looking at the world through rose coloured glasses and overlooking the less attractive aspects of human existence. This, according to Gable and Haidt (2005: 107), is a mistaken assumption and they argue that it is not a question of ignoring negative behaviour and human suffering but rather of having made a deliberate decision to “build up what we know about human resilience, strength, and growth to integrate and complement the existing knowledge base” – in other words, the same methods and tools that enable to address weakness and prevent or treat illness can equally well be used to collect information about the enhancing and empowering processes that increase wellbeing (Lopez & Gallagher 2009: 3). It is also argued that an understanding of the positive processes and relationships may not only help protect and shield against pain, difficulties and adversity, but actually help support and improve the conditions for a good life – also in occupational settings.

The positive psychology initiative has also been accused of lacking an “integrating theory” that would enable to bring together the wide variety of results originating from both theoretical and practice-based research (Linley et al. 2009b: 43). This would seem an apt observation and a difficult problem to resolve; especially given the wide range of undertakings based on or inspired by the principles of the initiative. Consequently, it is easy to agree with the opinion, expressed by Shane J. Lopez and Matthew W. Gallagher (2012: 5), according to which the positive approach is easy to support but, at the same time, also discouragingly easy to discredit. For that reason, the positive psychology movement has from the start made a clear break from the so-called self-help literature and popular psychology, and as emphasised by Laura Sheldon and Kennon King (2001: 216), defined itself as “... the *scientific*

study of ordinary human strengths and virtues”.⁴⁰ The definition was supported by Fred Luthans (2002: 696) who stated that it was necessary to insist “on sound theory and research before moving on to application and practice”. Consequently, and with years of meticulous research and successful real-life interventions, positive psychology has gradually established its position as a serious and rigorous field of study and, as suggested by Steve R. Baumgardner and Marie Crothers (2014: 4), researchers “can now study hope, forgiveness, or the physical and emotional benefits of positive emotions without feeling that they have left their scientific sensibilities behind, and without being regarded as pop psychologists”.

This rekindled and refocused interest in the positives of human behaviour and people’s ability to aim for and achieve greater happiness in life has found determined support in other fields of research as well. This is justifiable since, for example, P. Alex Linley et al. (2009b: 44) have argued that

... the most progressive advances in positive psychology applications will come through partnership and collaboration with areas where we can have the greatest difference and touch the greatest number of lives — at work, in education, and through health, as well as through politics, public policy, and population approaches.

This presumption seems especially valid with regard to organisational research where the aspects that enable organisations and employees succeed and flourish have been the centre of attention for several decades; with studies focusing, for example, on the quality of working life, good work and workplaces, wellbeing at work, the principles of a healthy organisation, and positive organisational behaviour.⁴¹ For that reason, Luthans (2002: 696, 698) considered that the ideas behind positive psychology seemed to have significant relevance to the workplace and proposed that organisation studies should “follow the lead of [positive] psychology”. This idea seems to have taken firm hold in the 2010s, as working life research in Finland – and elsewhere – has put serious effort on the study of, for example, sustainable work ability, work engagement, work happiness, and enthusiasm at work (see e.g. Kira et al. 2010; Hakanen 2011; Manka 2012; Tiililä 2016). This is perfectly justifiable because, as Jari Hakanen (2009: 4) argues:

By directly promoting the strengths of workplaces and employees and by harnessing their potential, it is possible for workplaces to succeed and flourish – and, at the same time, often exert such influence that risks and shortcomings can be avoided.⁴²

It also seems that the approval of happiness-related research has increased and gained wider interest among decision-makers with the number of

⁴⁰ My italics.

⁴¹ For a historical overview of the researched themes, see e.g. Hakanen (2009: 17–30), Wright and Quick (2009: 148–149), and Luthans and Youssef (2009: 580–581).

⁴² My translation from Finnish.

approaches and analyses that have managed to draw attention to the possible positive connections between employee satisfaction and/or wellbeing and the overall productivity (Judge et al. 2001b; Luthans & Youssef 2009: 582; Manka 2012: 33-53; Haaslahti 2016: 24-27). This is a rather cynical – but probably also a rather accurate – take on the issue given the constantly increasing and “higher expectations regarding productivity” (Ehrensberger-Dow & Jääskeläinen 2018: 133) common to translation industry as well. As regards the present study and its respondents, this is implicated, for example, in the Central Government Spending Limits for 2013–2016⁴³ where measures aimed at improving staff wellbeing are boldly coupled with measures targeted at increasing productivity.

The [government efficiency and productivity] programme places particular weight on improving staff skills, increasing staff influence over their job, introducing measures designed to support working capacity, and on the role of management and supervision in promoting an efficient and productive operation. The programme includes specific measures related to core operations analyses and the development of human capital and productivity designed to generate proposals and reforms concerning processes, practices and structures. (19–20)

Due to its deliberate focus on the strengths and potentials of both employees and organisations, positive psychology seems to lend itself particularly well to the purpose of examining possible positive elements of the government English translators’ work. It provides both motivation and justification to examine not only the perceived *levels* of translator status and job satisfaction but also to draw attention to the *nature* and *extent* of the factors that might contribute favourably to these perceptions.

3.3 STATUS

The measurement of occupational status has occupied an important role in stratification research since the first rating provided by Cecil North and Paul Hatt in the United States in 1947. In their study, North and Hatt asked respondents to rank 90 occupations based on what they believed to be the most suitable occupation for an “outstanding young man.” The respondents were also to rank the occupations according to “the most important SINGLE thing for a young man to consider when choosing his life's work” (North and Hatt 1947: 9). Over the years, sociologists have created a number of different approaches with which to define and scale occupational status as part of social sciences. The designing of occupational status scales has been particularly

⁴³ Retrieved 22 May 2017 from <http://vm.fi/documents/10623/1316221/Decision+on+central+government+spending+limits+for+2013-2016/5769b321-53ac-489d-bcea-dafc63bbdc6e>.

active in the United States and Canada where it has been facilitated by the availability of extensive and detailed census data.⁴⁴

3.3.1 DEFINING AND MEASURING OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

According to the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, “occupational status is a fundamental measure of social standing that reflects the distribution of power, privilege, and prestige associated with positions in the occupational hierarchy [...]”.⁴⁵ In other words, it is a man-made construct that enables to rate different occupations on a scale based on certain subjective and/or objective variables. It is not comprehensive, it is not based on an explicit theoretical framework, and it can never capture all the determinants of social standing (Hauser & Warren 1997: 1; Rose 2005: 1). Nevertheless, occupational status carries societal relevance as a person’s occupation is one of the main determinants of his or her social and economic role in society – it is safe to say that an occupation provides implicit information about its holder (Hauser & Warren 1997: 2–3).

Due to the multiple ways of measuring occupational status, its meaning can only be defined in relation to the method and the applied standard(s) of measurement. In broad terms, status scales can be divided into three main categories based on the focus of evaluation. There are scales that measure (1) occupational prestige only, (2) socioeconomic standing in relation to prestige, and (3) pure socioeconomic standing (Nam & Boyd 2004: 333).⁴⁶ All three categories differ with regard to their research design and objectivity of the measured characteristics. It is also important to note that the assessment of professions’ status only provides information on the hierarchical sorting of the professions and, therefore, does not lend itself to wider conclusions about, for example, social classes or class divisions at any given time (Hauser & Warren 1997: 6). In contrast, status ratings can serve as independent, contextual or dependent research variables and provide valuable information for research in the fields of social and biological sciences (Nam & Boyd 2004: 334–335) – hence also for research in the field of the sociology of translation. Next, a brief description of the three most common status measures.

Prestige scales

In the formulation of a prestige scale, respondents are typically asked to rank occupations according to their personal opinion on the occupation’s social standing on a given scale (Nakao & Treas 1994: 39–40; Nam & Boyd 2004: 331–333). According to Robert Hodge (1981: 413), “we can think of the overall prestige of an occupation as the expectation that one of its members will

⁴⁴ For a concise historical overview, see, for example, Nakao and Treas (1994).

⁴⁵ Retrieved 17 Feb. 2017 from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/occupational-status>.

⁴⁶ There are also other scales for measuring occupations’ standing, such as the index of job desirability (Hauser & Warren 1997: 4) and nominal class categories (Ganzeboom & Treiman 1996: 203–205), but there the focus is not strictly on occupational status.

receive (or give) deference to a randomly selected member of any other occupation". The resulting rating can then be interpreted to reflect status attributes that convey the level of "prestige, respect, honor and reputation" that the respondents attach to each occupation (Nam & Boyd 2004: 332).

The study carried out by North and Hatt in 1947 was based on a prestige approach. Since its introduction, the North-Hatt prestige rating has been replicated, extended and modified in a number of studies, and some thirty years after its introduction, Donald J. Treiman (1977) constructed a Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS) to allow for international comparisons of occupational status.⁴⁷ Despite being purely subjective in nature and designed to gauge nothing but public opinion, prestige studies are still very much in use and there is evidence that prestige scales are also successful in demonstrating changes in society's perceptions of occupational status (Nakao & Treas 1994: 2). One of the most recent all-encompassing studies, which comprised all the census data occupations, was conducted in the United States in 2012 (Smith & Son 2014) and less comprehensive studies are common throughout the world. Recent small-scale prestige studies carried out in Finland in 2007 and 2010 and in Denmark in 2006 and 2016 are discussed later on in this thesis.

Socioeconomic indices based on prestige scales

Socioeconomic scales rate occupations' social standing based on a socioeconomic index (SEI) which is constructed by complementing prestige scores with numerical information. The first formula for calculating a socioeconomic index for all the occupations was designed by Otis Duncan (1961). It combined an occupational prestige rating with information on the average level of education and income of the incumbents of each occupation. The aim was to complement prestige ratings with objective census data relating to social status (education) and economic status (income) – thus the name 'a socioeconomic index' (Hodge 1981: 405). Harry Ganzeboom et al. (1992: 8–9) argued that the SEI allows to estimate how successfully employees may turn their nonmaterial asset (education) into a material reward (income) whereas prestige scales only tell about the level of nonmaterial reward (e.g. redeem) attributed to an occupation by the members of society.

Again, the original equation for calculating the index has been replicated, modified and extended in a number of studies but its main components have remained the same. As with prestige scales, there is also an International Socio-economic Index (ISEI) for cross-national research, designed by Ganzeboom et al. (1992). Those in favour of socioeconomic indices claim that, because of objective data, the SEIs produce better estimates of occupations' social standing than the scales measuring prestige only. However, socioeconomic indices have also been criticised (Hodge 1981) for inconsistency since they do not take into account contextual variables, such as

⁴⁷ The international scale combines information on occupational prestige from 60 countries.

performance-based remuneration, which are linked with the characteristics of the incumbents of an occupation rather than the occupation itself.

Socioeconomic scales

A purely socioeconomic scale of occupational status is a weighted statistical model based on numerical metrics about each occupation's aggregate education and income levels (Nam & Boyd 2004: 330). In contrast to the other occupational status scales, there is no reference to prestige evaluations and the methodology is based on census data only and the resulting scores denote the level of living of the incumbents of each occupation studied (*ibid.*; Boyd 2008: 58). Therefore, the status information provided by a socioeconomic scale is fundamentally different from information provided by a prestige scale or a socioeconomic index and it starts with the assumption that education and income alone are valid and sufficient indicators of what is meant by occupational status (Boyd 2008: 59). A purely socioeconomic scale does not take into consideration how members of society perceive occupations in relation to one another but, in simple terms, turns occupations into a one-dimensional rank representing the necessary level of education required to achieve a certain level of living and vice versa.

Based on recent research, socioeconomic scales have been criticised for disregarding the fact that, in modern societies, occupational status seems to comprehend an increasing number of intangible attributes that cannot be translated into numerically measurable metrics, such as an occupation's worthiness or meaningfulness, and therefore a purely mathematical equation is seen to be lacking in important information. For that reason, it is paramount to keep in mind that a socioeconomic status scale is not geared towards producing information on public opinion and should therefore be interpreted very differently from, for example, prestige-based scales. (Ollivier 2000)

As a whole, methodological differences between occupational status scales must be taken into account when selecting a tool for constructing a status rating, and the ensuing results can only be interpreted in light of the assessed characteristics. Gillian Stevens and David Featherman (1981: 380) state that "... there is no consensus about substantive reasons for using a prestige versus a socioeconomic index", and the same is true of the purely socioeconomic scale. For that reason, it is always crucial to understand whether the applied scale is constructed to measure the prestige or the socioeconomic dimension of occupations, or a combination of the two, based on what one intends to examine (Nam & Boyd 2004: 332). However, common to all the scales is that they aim to provide a comprehensive and systematic picture of the order of occupations (Nakao & Treas 1994: 33) – even though based on different fundamentals and metrics of measurement. It must also be borne in mind that, due to the growing number of atypical employment relationships and new ways of working, it might be that, today, not all the occupations can be assessed successfully by any of the described status scales. Also, because of the emergence of new and disappearance of old occupations, the list of

occupations included in the applied scales have been updated a number of times which naturally hinders straightforward intertemporal comparisons even between similar approaches (Boyd 2008: 57).

3.3.2 EARLIER RESEARCH ON TRANSLATOR STATUS

Until the 21st century, research on translator status was scarce: it had “received very little attention as a subject of its own right” (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 71) and had “been grievously neglected in translation research” (Ruokonen 2013: 327). Over the past sixteen years, the situation has changed and there has been a growing number of empirical studies on the topic (e.g. Abdallah 2010; Bowker 2004; Chan 2005, 2011; Chan & Ming Liu 2013; Choi & Lim 2002; Dam & Zethsen 2008, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2014; Katan 2009; Koskinen 2009; Pym et al. 2012; Ruokonen 2016; Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018; Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger 2008; Sela-Sheffy 2006, 2008, 2010, 2016; Setton & Guo Liangliang 2009; Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2004). However, the studies on translator status differ from each other in a number of ways relating, for example, to the main method of data collection, perspective to translator status, nature and number of research population and geographical coverage. Based on the main method of data collection, previous research can be divided into three categories: (1) questionnaire studies, (2) interview studies and (3) studies based on earlier research, surveys, statistics, official documents, media articles or the like.

So far, research on translator status seems to have mainly relied on questionnaire studies as nine of the previous studies fall within this category; eight of them being close-ended questionnaires (Table 2).

Table 2 *Questionnaire studies, their perspective to translator status, research population and geographical area*

Questionnaire studies			
Author(s)	Perspective to status	Respondents (n)	Geographical area
Chan & Ming Liu (2013)	How would you characterise the status of translators in your country? (close-ended)	translators, interpreters and other translation-related professionals (n=28)	ASEAN countries
Dam & Zethsen (2008, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013)	How do you perceive your status as translator/interpreter in society? (close-ended)	business translators working for companies (n=47) and translation agencies (n=66) or as freelancers (n=131), EU translators (n=63) and EU interpreters (n=23)	Denmark and the EU institutions (Danish staff translators)

Dam & Zethsen (2010)	Helpers and opponents to translator status. (open-ended)	business translators working for companies (n=47) and translation agencies (n=66) or as freelancers (n=131)	Denmark
Katan (2009)	What level of social status, regard and esteem does the job have? (close-ended)	professional translators (n=573) and interpreters (n=157) and other (e.g. translation and interpretation students, lecturers n=421)	Global (predominance of European countries)
Ruokonen (2016)	To what degree is the translator's occupation valued in Finland? (close-ended)	translation students (n=277)	Finland
Ruokonen & Mäkisalo (2018)	To what degree is the translator's occupation valued in Finland? To what degree is your own work valued by commissioners? (close-ended)	professional translators (n=450)	Finland
Setton & Guo Liangliang (2009)	What is the perceived social status of the occupation in relation to other occupations? (close-ended)	full-time translators (n=23) and interpreters (n=27), part-time and sideline translators and interpreters (n=12)	Shanghai and Taipei

Regardless of the number and nature of the respondents and the geographical location of the study, the questionnaire studies produced strikingly similar results: the status of translators in society was considered to be either relatively low or, at best, middling.⁴⁸ At the same time, interpreters were regarded with a relatively higher status (Katan 2009: 126; Setton & Guo Liangliang 2009: 227). The only study based on open-ended data was the one published by Dam and Zethsen in 2010. The data for the study consisted of comments provided at the end of the close-ended questionnaire applied in Dam's and Zethsen's earlier study in Denmark and the attempt was to group the comments into those that denote factors that contribute positively and those that contribute negatively to translator status.

The second main method of data collection has been through interviews (Table 3). In the interview studies, the key focus has not necessarily been the perception of status alone, but rather its role in relation to, for example,

⁴⁸ Perceptions of a relatively higher status were only attached to literary translators (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 10).

translators' agency (Abdallah 2010), its susceptibility to institutional change (Koskinen 2009) or different enhancement strategies (Sela-Sheffy 2006, 2008, 2010, 2016).

Table 3 *Interview studies, their perspective to translator status, research population and geographical area*

Interviews			
Author(s)	Perspective to status	Respondents (n)	Geographical area
Abdallah (2010)	To find out the kind of opportunities and resources that are available to translators to exercise their agency in production networks (e.g. through such issues as the accessibility of information, cooperation, quality of the working process and the product, salaries and fees, and translator role and status).	translators working for translation companies (n=8)	Finland
Koskinen (2008, 2009) (+ <i>documents, focus group discussions, observation</i>)	To research how institutionally expressed status affects the status as experienced by the translators themselves: as the institutional status changes, does the experienced status also change.	EU translators (n=3) ⁴⁹	European Commission (Finnish staff translators)
Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger (2008); Sela-Sheffy (2006, 2008, 2010, 2016) (+ <i>media articles</i>)	To analyse the self-perception of individuals as members of this group [translators], and the ways in which they claim status by building their "occupational selves".	literary translators (n= 23) and technical translators (n=22)	Israel

The number of respondents in the interview studies has been considerably smaller than in questionnaire studies and they have typically combined other

⁴⁹ The number of individually interviewed respondents. Koskinen's study also comprised focus group discussions and observation among a larger population (see Koskinen 2008).

kinds of data as well (institutional documents, earlier surveys, media articles etc.). The results indicate, for example, that translator status can be affected and constructed through determined and conscious effort and that it may be subject to great variation even within one institution (Koskinen 2008, 2009) or country (Sela-Sheffy 2010, 2016).

The third category of status studies, based mainly on the results of earlier research, surveys, statistics, media sources, official documents and/or historical documents, has approached the issue of translator status from various different perspectives (Table 4). They include an examination of employers' expectations and requirements (Bowker 2004), historical trajectories of translator status with reference to the prevailing political circumstances (Choi & Lim 2002; Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2004) and studies on the mechanisms and significance of status signals on the market (Chan 2005, 2011; Pym et al. 2012).

Table 4 *Studies based on earlier produced data, their perspective to translator status, research population and geographical area*

Earlier research, surveys, statistics, official documents, media articles, etc.			
Author(s)	Perspective to status	Target population	Geographical area
Bowker (2004) (<i>job advertisements</i>)	To evaluate the current state of the profession in Canada and to determine what employers are seeking.	translators and translation-related professions	Canada
Chan (2005, 2011) (<i>statistics</i>)	To examine status signalling in the light of market mechanisms.	translators	general
Choi & Lim (2002) (<i>historical documents</i>)	To provide a brief overview of the history of translator status.	translators and interpreters	Korea
Pym et al. (2012) (<i>surveys, statistics + initial questionnaire and follow-up exchanges</i>)	To investigate how translator status is signalled on the market and how effective this signalling is.	translators	European Union countries
Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2004) (<i>historical documents</i>)	To describe the status of translators in East Germany and reasons behind it.	literary translators	German Democratic Republic

The results of these studies include concrete examples of societal factors that have affected translator status, for example monolingualism vs. multilingualism (Choi & Lim 2002: 628), and provide examples of ways that

might help improve translators' value on the market (Chan 2005, 2011; Pym et al. 2012) or society in general (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2004).

All this, as pointed out by Minna Ruokonen and Jukka Mäkisalo (2018: 2–3), demonstrates that throughout its lifespan, research on translator status has remained unsystematic in its definition of 'status' and, consequently, addressed the topic in various different contexts and from various different perspectives. In their recent article, Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (2018: 2) introduced yet another distinctive perspective to the status research: *an individual translator's perception of the status attached to his/her own work at the workplace* instead of translator status in society at large. This viewpoint was adopted in the present thesis, too.

In 2008, Dam and Zethsen (2008: 73) concluded that translator status⁵⁰ was strongly characterised by the lack of visibility, poor pay and misrecognition of the required expertise and summarised the findings of related scholarly research as follows:

Translation as a profession is described as a peripheral (Hermans and Lambert 1998:113), insignificant (Ortega y Gasset 1937/2000:50), low status (Bassnett 2002:12), even servile (ibid.: 13), modest and humble (Ortega y Gasset 1937/2000:50) occupation. To add to the misery, it is also believed to be thankless (Risku 2004:185) as well as poorly paid (Venuti 1995:17). The translator is referred to as “a shadowy presence” (Steiner, quoted in Bassnett 2002:77), invisible, seldom recognized (Venuti 1995:1, 17) or anonymous (Koskinen 2000:60), modest, self-effacing (Godard 1990, in Hatim 2001:52), isolated (Risku 2004:190), unappreciated (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995/2000:92), passive (Risku 2004:190) and powerless (Snell-Hornby 2006:172). Translators are also known as “glorified secretaries” (Ruuskanen 1994:299) or “lower-category employees” (Hermans and Lambert 1998:123) who have a habitus of “voluntary servitude” (Simeoni 1998:23). In general, words like ‘just’ and ‘only’ often appear in connection with the words ‘translation’ and ‘translator’ (e.g. Pym 1998:164, Risku 2004:191) to emphasize the insignificance of the activity, the profession and translators themselves.

In the light of the empirical research carried out over the past ten years, the overall situation has not changed very much for the better. In general, translator status is still considered to be “‘quite low’ regarding pay, recognition and social status” (Chan & Ming Liu 2013: 441) and this view is also shared by translation students who, at least in Finland, “regard translator status as middling and believe that outsiders fail to appreciate the expertise required to translate” (Ruokonen 2016: 208). One of the frequently quoted reasons for the situation is that in many countries “almost anyone at all can be called a “translator”” (Pym et al. 2012: 20) and, as a consequence, “the market is

⁵⁰ The first questionnaire used by Dam and Zethsen among the Danish company translators consisted of two questions on translator status focusing on the respondents' status *in the company* (2008: 82) and status of translators *in society*. In the later studies, the respondents were only asked how they perceived translator status *in society* (Dam & Zethsen 2011: 984; 2012: 219).

flooded by nonqualified manpower and translators” (Sela-Sheffy 2016: 55). Translators themselves feel that other jobs with the same status include “teachers and secretaries” (Katan 2009: 127; Setton & Guo Liangliang 2011: 234). Furthermore, changes in the market structure “have affected translators’ agency, role and socioeconomic status negatively” (Abdallah 2010: 41) and it is only a few who can make “a decent living by translating alone” (Chan & Ming Liu 2013: 441). Translation is seen “largely a pink-collar profession” (Sela-Sheffy & Shlesinger 2008: 80) and considered to have a predominantly “female, cottage-industry nature” (Katan 2009: 142).

As emphasised by Dam and Zethsen (2008: 73), the quotes describe the results of research, not the researchers’ own views on translation and translator status. However, recent studies have also brought to the fore results that are more encouraging. Mona Baker argued already in 2008 that not all the translators were in a position where they had to agree to sweatshop conditions and “accept all the work they can get”. Based on her research among translators working in the European Commission, Kaisa Koskinen (2009: 108) concluded that “translators are not predestined to be institutionally invisible and misrecognised”. Kristiina Abdallah (2010: 26, 42) stated that despite the feeling of being poorly appreciated, translators “get inner satisfaction from doing their work well” and Rakefet Sela-Sheffy (2010: 135) focused on factors that contribute to translators’ “self-image strategies and the value categories they mobilize to make sense of their job and create their occupational dignity”. Minna Ruokonen’s (2013: 336) findings led her to suggest that “there are indications that it [translator status] can be improved by means of increased visibility and cooperation among translators and other agents”. Helle V. Dam and Karin Korning Zethsen (2016: 183) also posited that although translators were well aware of the drawbacks related to their work and profession, the “discourse of lamentation” was paralleled by an alternative discourse.

They [=translators] are exceedingly pleased with, and proud of, the intellectual and creative challenge of translating and the insights the subject variation provides. All narratives list a very large number of competences a translator needs, and the translators clearly see themselves as possessing these skills. They are proud of their long training, their experience and the slightly mysterious quality of having a “sense of language.”... The translators furthermore value the importance of translation, i.e. again, even if society in general does not appreciate this importance, the translators are aware of it and it provides them with satisfaction.

Due to the chosen research framework, my study received inspiration from these positive findings and enhanced the rationale of examining whether it was possible to establish factors that the Finnish government English translators considered constructive to translator status. In the analysis, reference was made to any previous status research with a relevant bearing on the set research aim. However, due to the research population and research methods,

the studies with the greatest relevance to my study include those conducted among:

- business translators⁵¹ in Denmark by Helle V. Dam and Karin Korning Zethsen (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011);
- professional translators⁵² in Finland by Minna Ruokonen and Jukka Mäkisalo (2018).

What made the studies by Dam and Zethsen and that by Ruokonen and Mäkisalo particularly interesting, was that, in addition to conducting an interview study, I had an opportunity to collect quantitative data for the present thesis through the same questionnaire design. That is to say that the quantitative data for the present study was collected through the same survey and in the same connection as the data for Ruokonen's and Mäkisalo's study which followed the Danish design. More precisely, the questionnaire respondents of the presents study consist of a clearly defined subpopulation of the research population examined by Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4). For that reason, the research design and the main results of the Danish and Finnish studies will be discussed next.

3.3.3 RESEARCH ON TRANSLATOR STATUS BASED ON STATUS PARAMETERS

Research on translator status among business translators in Denmark

The studies on translator status conducted by Dam and Zethsen were motivated, on the one hand, by a general lack of empirical research on translator status and, on the other, by the results of a national survey on occupational prestige carried out in 2006 in Denmark.⁵³ In the survey, 2,155 respondents had rated 99 common occupations in order of prestige based purely on their personal opinion. Unfortunately, as noted by Dam and Zethsen, translators were not included on the list. However, a further analysis of the resulting status ranking revealed that it was possible to identify four important parameters that had affected the sorting:

⁵¹ By *business* translators, Dam and Zethsen “mean translators who translate for business and industry” (2011: 978) and work as freelance translators or as staff translators in companies or in translation agencies (eae.: 981). Literary translators were excluded from the study. According to Dam and Zethsen, these freelance, company and agency translators were also to be considered as *professional* translators as they “engage in an occupation – in this case translation – to make a living” (eae.: 978).

⁵² In Ruokonen's and Mäkisalo's study, *professional* translator identities included business translators, audiovisual translators, literary translators (into or from Finnish), and other (2018: 8).

⁵³ Ugebrevet A4. (2006). Retrieved 2 Mar. 2017 from http://www.ugebreveta4.dk/danskernes-nye-rangorden_17624.aspx.

- salary
- education/expertise
- visibility/fame
- power/influence

Consequently, the result of what was originally a prestige study had been analysed in manner that yielded more information than a mere prestige ranking by combining and taking into account underlying elements typical of a socioeconomic index and wider status research. Dam and Zethsen considered the identified status parameters particularly interesting in view of translator status because they denoted the very characteristics that research on translators and their work had usually found underestimated or missing entirely. Inspired by this paradox, starting in 2006 Dam and Zethsen launched three different studies among Danish business translators with the objective of examining translators' own perceptions of translator status and the relationships between the status perception and the given status parameters.⁵⁴ In other words, Dam and Zethsen applied salary, education/expertise, visibility/fame, and power/influence as the main set of dependent variables against which to measure possible status affecting factors among company, agency and freelance translators. The initial hypothesis was that different translator groups would fall on different points of the status continuum indicating, for example, that staff translators' status perceptions would differ from those of freelance translators. (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 74–75, 78; 2011: 981)

The data for the studies were collected by questionnaires which consisted of close-ended questions and offered the respondents five verbal Likert-scale alternatives that could be translated into numerical values to enable quantitative analysis of the data as follows:

- 1 = to a very low degree or not at all
- 2 = to a low degree
- 3 = to a certain degree
- 4 = to a high degree
- 5 = to a very high degree⁵⁵

The response alternatives were offered in order of the highest ranking to the lowest ranking so that the respondents would not be attracted by the lowest ranking alternative only because it was presented first. The questionnaire closed with an opportunity to comment freely on any aspect of the questionnaire items, the study itself or its themes. (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 78; 2010: 197)

⁵⁴ Dam and Zethsen conducted similar studies also among Danish EU translators (2012) and EU interpreters (2013) but they are not discussed in the present study.

⁵⁵ The original Danish alternatives were: (1) i meget ringe grad eller slet ikke, (2) i ringe grad, (3) i nogen grad, (4) i høj grad, (5) i meget høj grad (Dam & Zethsen 2008, 58).

In the first study among company translators (n=47), Dam and Zethsen investigated relationships between the perceived level of translator status and (1) parameters of demographic nature (age and gender), (2) parameters indicating professional identity, (3) the four status parameters (income, education/expertise, visibility, power/influence), and (4) a parameter indicating appreciation. In addition to the general finding of a low status perception, they achieved the following results:

- age was of importance as younger respondents rated translator status higher than older respondents;
- gender did not correlate; although all the male respondents rated translator status low;
- respondents with a strong professional identity tended to rate translator status higher than those with a less established professional identity;
- the level of income had significance to the status perception, but only as a necessary condition, not as a sufficient condition;
- respondents who perceived the required level of expertise to be high showed a tendency to rate translator status higher, too;
- visibility in terms of physical location at the workplace did not correlate with the status perception – professional contacts at workplace did;
- perceptions of power/influence were not important to the status perception;
- sense of appreciation correlated strongly with the status perception. (Dam & Zethsen 2009: 6, 30–32)

Based on the above, it was easy to agree with Dam and Zethsen (2008: 74) when they concluded that status is not an independent or a simple concept to examine nor can it ever be absolutely free from contextual or subjective circumstances.

In 2011, Dam and Zethsen published an article where they compared and summarised the results obtained from among the three groups of Danish translators studied; namely company (n=47), agency (n=66) and freelance (n=131) translators. The comparative analysis showed that the differences relating to translator status and the related status parameters between the three groups were relatively small. Each group rated translator status below the midscale value, but company translators rated it slightly higher than agency and freelance translators. Income did not correlate positively with the status perception as freelance translators who reported the highest levels of income rated translator status the lowest; the opposite was true of company translators. As regards education and expertise, all three groups of translators rated the required level expertise very high, but company translators lower than agency and freelance translators. In terms of visibility, freelance translators considered themselves physically isolated whereas company and agency translators did not. As a whole, all three groups of translators

considered translators' general visibility to be low; company translators slightly less than agency and freelance translators. The perception of the degree of influence connected with the job was very low although company translators ranked it slightly higher than agency and freelance translators. The opportunities for obtaining a managerial position were considered non-existent among freelance translators and very low for company and agency translators as well. (Dam & Zethsen 2011: 980, 984–993)

Dam and Zethsen (2011: 995) stated that variation between the results obtained from among the three Danish business translator groups were of such a small magnitude that it was easier, and more logical, to draw similarities rather than try to establish differences between the groups as in all of them the perception of a low translator status was accompanied with:

- low level of income
- low degree of visibility
- low degree of influence
- high level of required expertise with a low level of recognition

This led Dam and Zethsen to conclude that a “general picture has emerged from our empirical data: translators see themselves as having relatively low status, they consider themselves to be experts to a very large degree, but they do not feel recognized as such”. In other words, the findings suggested that the Danish business translators shared the negative picture of translator status and its defining parameters as proposed by earlier research. As the questionnaire design limited the presentation of the results to quantitative descriptions and comparisons, Dam and Zethsen suggested that qualitative research was required to allow to move from mere descriptions to possible explanations. (Dam and Zethsen 2011: 995; 2014: 263)

Research on translator status among professional translators in Finland

The questionnaire designed in Denmark was modified and used by Minna Ruokonen from the University of Eastern Finland to collect information on the perceptions of translator status first among the Finnish translation students and then among the professional translators in Finland (Ruokonen 2016; Ruokonen 2018; Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018). The results of Ruokonen's study among the translation students is not discussed here because the students had only very limited or no translation experience at all. Hence, their perceptions were not strongly founded on personal experience but rather on general attitudes.

The first results on the study among the Finnish translation professionals (n=450) were published in February 2018 and focused on the relationships between the respondents' status perceptions and (1) independent variables relating to the respondents' background (age, gender, education/qualification, length of work experience and specialisation) and (2) independent variables relating to working conditions (employment status, income and satisfaction

with the level of income and the job in general) (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 7). Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (2018: 3) state that they decided to examine the perception of status from two different angles.

... firstly, the prestige and value of the *translation profession in general* and, secondly, the prestige and value of an *individual translator's work*, or the notion of how highly one's work is appreciated in one's working environment by one's employers or commissioners.

The two different viewpoints on status provided very different results: they indicated that the professional translators in Finland also perceived the status of the profession to be only middling or lower and, at the same time, considered that the value of their own work was held in high esteem. The applied parameters did not help to explain relations between the low status perception of the translation profession in general as the results did not show consistent dependencies with regard to the respondents' specialisation, income level, work experience, educational background, working languages or authorisation.

As regards the different groups of translators, the respondents as a whole, and also by specialisation, attached the highest level of professional status to literary translators, followed by business translators and audiovisual translators. In terms of the status of their own work, business translators ranked their status the highest, followed by literary translators and audiovisual translators. In either case, the differences were not, however, statistically significant. On the other hand, the results implicated correlations between the respondents' perception of the status of their own work and items relating to satisfaction with one's own level of income and wellbeing at work. However, satisfaction with the level of income was not a decisive factor contributing to the status perception of literary translators, as they earned the least, whereas in case of business and audiovisual translators it correlated positively. As a whole, the results led Ruokonen and Mäkisalo to conclude that there were "further avenues to explore to better understand the different concepts of status and the various factors affecting status perceptions". (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 10, 13–14)

In the same year, Ruokonen (2018) published a second article based on the same data where she discussed the possible boosting effect of authorisation on the Finnish translators' status perceptions. She concluded that no such connection could be detected as "[a]uthorisation produced no statistically significant differences in the respondents' status rankings". However, at the same time, the results showed that almost 60% of the respondents were in favour of protecting the entry into the profession more effectively. (Ruokonen 2018: 79)

Having access to the data provided by the subpopulation of government translators within Ruokonen's and Mäkisalo's data, it was possible to examine to what extent these results hold among the respondents of the present study. The ensuing analysis is presented in Chapter 5.

Remarks on the status scales applied in the Danish and Finnish studies

Both the Danish and Finnish studies described above collected data based on the principles of a prestige scale. This provides for interesting comparisons as empirical studies have shown that occupational prestige scores remain relatively unchanged regardless of the respondent group and that overall prestige ratings do not experience dramatic changes over time (Valdes & Dean 1965: 258; Nakao et al.1990: 7–8); yet they manage to demonstrate shifts in public opinion which is demonstrated by the fact that the rank of individual occupations may fluctuate (Nakao & Treas 1994: 2). Also, as summarised by Robert M. Hauser and John Robert Warren (1997: 11–12) and by Monica Boyd (2008: 57), prestige ratings do not seem to be greatly affected by the method of rating or the respondents' nationality, gender, race or position in society. Treiman (1977: 23) proposes that the reason for the relatively high consistency between different prestige ratings may result from the "diffusion of a Western pattern of occupational evaluation" and even of "a Western system for organising production, that is, a Western division of labor and organization of work roles".

However, some researchers argue that prestige scales only reflect opinions on the advantages that an occupation provides for its incumbents rather than how the occupation is actually valued (Rose 2005: 2). Therefore, it would be naïve to claim that perceptions of occupations' material rewards play no role in the construction of prestige scales as people's estimations are inevitably affected by their notions and experience of the advantages, or privileges, provided by a given occupation in relation to others (Treiman, 1977: 20–22; Ollivier 2000: 442–443). It is also important to notice that an occupation's usefulness, for example, to society does not necessarily correlate with its prestige among people and, consequently, it is very unlikely that the ranking of occupations' usefulness, or worth, would correlate with a ranking of their prestige, as the latter can never be totally free from people's notions about the privileges – material or nonmaterial – attached to an occupation. This was clearly taken into account in both Dam's and Zethsen's and in Ruokonen's and Mäkisalo's research as the questionnaires also collected information on the respondents' income.

Another factor affecting people's status perceptions seems to be whether the entry into the profession is regulated or not. This is manifested in the high ranking of professions such as doctors and lawyers which require that the practitioners of the profession meet certain certified criteria and requirements. Here, translators find themselves in a situation similar to that of journalists; both professions have their own specific university programmes, yet anyone can set up a business and provide professional services as a translator or a journalist. Ruokonen's (2018) results which show that almost 60 % of the respondents would like to restrict entry to the translation profession support this assumption.

It would also be a gross oversimplification to claim that a prestige scale always provides reliable and mutually comparable information regardless of time, place or the method of collecting the information. Due to changes in the structure of economic activities and means of livelihood, the results of any prestige study must always be interpreted with proper attention to the given time and place in history. In modern societies, even this may not be enough as, with increased mobility, intense globalisation and rapid digitalisation, the boundaries of our common understanding of work and occupations' value are likely to have become less clear-cut. Keiko Nakao and Judith Treas (1994: 5) summarise the situation by claiming that "[o]nly by collecting and analyzing new prestige data can we assess how robust our prestige and socioeconomic scales have been to methodological expedience and social change."

It must also be noted that even though the starting point in Dam's and Zethsen's and in Ruokonen's and Mäkisalo's studies was a prestige style rating, they do not meet the criteria of orthodox prestige studies as the applied questionnaires differed from a traditional prestige scale in three fundamental aspects. First, to achieve the best possible coherence and comparability, prestige studies should, in principle, be based on large, heterogeneous and sufficiently representative respondent populations. The respondents of the Danish and Finnish studies represented one profession only: translators.⁵⁶ Second, the studies did not ask translators to rank the status of different occupations but rather to rate how they perceived the status of their own profession in society and, in the Finnish study, that of their own work as a translator. Third, the studies included analyses of the reasons for the expressed status perceptions whereas, in general, prestige studies do not focus on such information. The studies' express focus on translators' perceptions of the status of their own profession is not, however, without its merits because research has shown that people's own estimation of their status is usually very good and "... that individuals did not engage in status self-enhancement but instead perceived and interpreted information about their status accurately" (Anderson et al. 2006: 1106, 1109).

The research objective was also clearly spelled out in each case and argued on the basis that translator status as an independent topic had not been given proper consideration in earlier translation research. Also, by deliberately placing the focus on translators and having them as the only respondents, it was possible to provide a comprehensive picture on the perceived level of translator status and its parameters as experienced and conceptualised by those working in and representing the profession.

To conclude, both in the Danish and Finnish studies, the examination of translator status was inspired by the objectives of a prestige scale study; yet, the applied method was not that of a conventional prestige scale study.

⁵⁶ The study focusing on the Danish company translators (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 76) also included the companies' "core employees ... who carry out the work which defines the company". Their opinions were examined in relation to the perceptions expressed by company translators. The other studies focused solely on translators' experiences.

Furthermore, in contrast to traditional prestige studies, the applied questionnaire was complemented by questions on a set of pre-established status parameters to enable to examine possible reasons for the expressed status perception, or prestige. Also, the questionnaire study was conducted among a pre-defined respondent population within a specific context. Hence, the aim was not to demonstrate “the prominence, respect, and influence individuals enjoy *in the eyes of others*” (Anderson et al. 2006: 1094, my emphasis), but rather reverse the mirror and examine *translators’ own perceptions* of the prominence, respect and influence attached to translation at large and to their own work as individual translators. This, as pointed out by Ruokonen (2016: 188–189), is both interesting and justified because it can tell us not only about perceptions of status but also about motivation and wellbeing at work. This meets the purpose of the present thesis as well.

Due to the very nature and limitations of questionnaire studies, as discussed above, the method of the present study (described in Chapter 4) was designed to enable to collect both interview and questionnaire data from among the Finnish government translators. In the analysis of the results (Chapter 5), the main focus is placed on the results derived from the qualitative data while the collected questionnaire data allows to make comparisons with the interview findings and earlier research when appropriate and relevant.

3.4 JOB SATISFACTION

The objective of trying to discover links between translators’ status perceptions and job satisfaction is arguable on the basis that research among, for example, teachers indicates that “perceptions of occupational prestige, self-esteem, autonomy at work, and professional self-development contribute the most to job satisfaction” (Bogler 2001: 676). This naturally fuelled my curiosity and determination to examine the extent to which the perceived state of occupational status might resonate with the level of job satisfaction among the government English translators. Particularly so, as the interviews provided an opportunity to map factors other than just the status parameters.

As regards Translation Studies, Koskinen (2014: 75) and Rodríguez-Castro (2015: 31), for example, have drawn attention to the fact that not much study has been conducted into translators’ work-related emotions, job satisfaction included. In his article, Gyde Hansen (2005: 515) makes reference to translators’ emotions, but not as an independent object of study but as an element that is an inseparable part of the translation process as a whole; a process which is always affected by “a conglomerate of memories, reflections, justifications, explanations, emotions and experiences, and it seems likely that these cannot be separated from each other”. However, the past few years have witnessed research where, for example, Translation Process Studies have been extended to include research on the role of translators’ emotions and, more recently, there has also been research where translators’ emotions, including

job satisfaction, constitute the main focus of research (e.g. Hubscher-Davidson 2018; Courtney and Phelan 2019). Before an overview of job satisfaction research within Translation Studies, a few words about the ways of defining and measuring job satisfaction and an introduction of the tools applied for gauging job satisfaction in this thesis.

3.4.1 DEFINING AND MEASURING JOB SATISFACTION

Job satisfaction is one of the most researched topics in organisational research due its multiple implications. It tells, for example, about people and their wellbeing at work, it serves as a signal of (un)fair working conditions, it may reflect the reasons for the way people act at work, or it may translate as a measurement of an organisation's functioning(s). Depending on the research aim, job satisfaction has been defined in a number of ways and by a number of researchers as a somewhat unstable concept consisting of a varying degree of affective, cognitive and/or attitudinal elements. According to oft-cited definitions, "job satisfaction is the pleasurable emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job as achieving or facilitating the achievement of one's job values" (Locke 1969: 316) or simply "the extent to which people like (satisfaction) or dislike (dissatisfaction) their jobs" (Spector 1997: 2). Changes in people's perceptions of job satisfaction also imply

... that two types of factors are operative: perceived job characteristics, which represent the amount of satisfaction available from particular dimensions of work, and work values, which represent the meanings that individuals attach to these perceived job characteristics.

(Kalleberg 1977: 127)

Job satisfaction measures include single-item measures, facet measures and summation measures. A single-item measure consists of a single question aimed at eliciting information on a person's overall feelings towards the job with a simple question, such as: 'How do you feel about your job?' or 'How satisfied are you with your job?'. Facet measures consist of several questions targeting different areas of the work, including elements relating to, for example, operating conditions, purpose, mastery, management, influence, achievements, work-life balance, colleagues and salary. The purpose of facet measures is, therefore, to gather information on the separate areas that are considered likely to affect the level of job satisfaction. Each facet may consist of either one or several questions. Summation measures, or job satisfaction scales, typically collect information on various facets relevant to job satisfaction, too, but the results are then computed, with possible weighting, into a single score representing the total level of job satisfaction. Based on their meta-analysis "of research in which single-item measures of overall job satisfaction are correlated with scales measuring overall job satisfaction", John P. Wanous et al. (1997) conclude that in the measurement of overall job

satisfaction, single-item measures seem more robust. At the same time, they (ibid.) comment on the choice of measures suggesting that it is always conditional:

Nothing reported thus far should be interpreted as questioning the use of well-constructed scales in comparison to a single-item measure. It should be interpreted, however, as a case for the acceptability of single-item measures when either the research question implies their use or when situational constraints limit or prevent the use of scales.

Research on job satisfaction in general and across organisations has, nevertheless, mainly been characterised by survey studies as they are easy to repeat, enable to reach large numbers of participants, produce a lot of data and facilitate comparative analyses. Survey studies would not, however, seem the best means of studying job satisfaction among translators as a great number of them work on a freelance basis which obviously places them outside the reach of approaches based on strictly organisational considerations. Also, not all in-house translators work in organisations where the core function is that of translation provision; this is certainly true as regards the research population of the present study. Studies designed for the purposes of individual companies, fields of administration or professional groups have included open-ended questions and interviews allowing to elicit information on the level of job satisfaction of a specific target population. This would seem relevant to studying job satisfaction among translators, too. Nevertheless, it is also to be noticed that the best way of measuring job satisfaction in any given context is impossible to establish as job satisfaction is always subject to the variables – independent and dependent – against which it is to be examined. In addition, job satisfaction research indicates that as job satisfaction is related to affects, it can never be completely free from personal traits regardless of the prevailing circumstances. (Locke 1969: 330–334; Wanous & Lawler 1972: 104–105; Spector 1997: 1–9; Thoresen et al. 2003: 915; Yeoh 2007: 8–18)

As regards the theories⁵⁷ relating to the causes of job satisfaction, Timothy A. Judge et al. (2001a: 28) propose that they can roughly be divided into three categories:

... (1) situational theories, which hypothesize that job satisfaction results from the nature of one's job or other aspects of the environment; (2) dispositional approaches, which assume that job satisfaction is rooted in the personological make-up of the individual; and (3) interactive theories, which propose that job satisfaction results from the interplay of the situation and personality. To be sure, this is a gross categorization.

Based on the classification above, the present study falls into the category of situational theories as the focus of examination is on the characteristics

⁵⁷ See, for example, Unutmaz (2014) for a summary of job satisfaction theories.

concerning the government English translators' jobs and work environments. According to Judge et al. (ibid.), the three most important situational theories include "(1) Herzberg's two-factor theory; (2) social information processing; (3) job characteristics model".

The two-factor theory rests on the assumption that intrinsic factors relating, for example, to the nature of the job and personal achievements, promote job satisfaction ('motivators') whereas extrinsic factors associated with, for example, income and working conditions, cause dissatisfaction ('hygiene factors'). The theory has, however, mainly been discarded for its numerous flaws, both as regards its logic and Herzberg's sampling and methodology, made apparent through a series of empirical efforts to replicate and test the theory with scientific accuracy.

The second of the listed situational theories, the social information processing introduced in the late 1970s, is based on the assumption that job satisfaction is, first and foremost, conditioned by the prevailing social surroundings and the related values. Again, this theory has faced severe criticism as later studies have shown its fundamentals lacking in empirical evidence across different cultures and social realities. (Judge et al. 2001a: 28)

Although not without its limitations, the third situational theory listed by Judge et al. (ibid.), namely the job characteristic model (JCM), has gained support for its validity and generalisability. It also seems to bear direct relevance to the objective and tools of the present study and, therefore, merits a closer look. The model was introduced by J. Richard Hackman and Greg R. Oldham in 1976 and it is based on the premise that intrinsically motivating job characteristics correlate positively with the level of job satisfaction and other desirable outcomes at work. The model focuses on five core job characteristics summarised by Judge et al. (2001a: 29) as follows:

Task identity – degree to which one can see one's work from beginning to end;

Task significance – degree to which one's work is seen as important and significant;

Skill variety – extent to which job allows employees to do different tasks;

Autonomy – degree to which employees have control and discretion for how to conduct their job;

Feedback – degree to which the work itself provides feedback for how the employee is performing the job.

The above job characteristics are considered to promote the emergence of three psychological states which are critical to positive personal and work outcomes. Hackman and Oldham (1976: 256–257) defined the psychological states as:

Experienced Meaningfulness of the Work. The degree to which the individual experiences the job as one which is generally meaningful, valuable, and worthwhile;

Experienced Responsibility for Work Outcomes. The degree to which the individual feels personally accountable and responsible for the results of the work he or she does;

Knowledge of Results. The degree to which the individual knows and understands, on a continuous basis, how effectively he or she is performing the job.

The construct of the job characteristic model with its assumed directionality and the desired outcomes is presented in Figure 2.

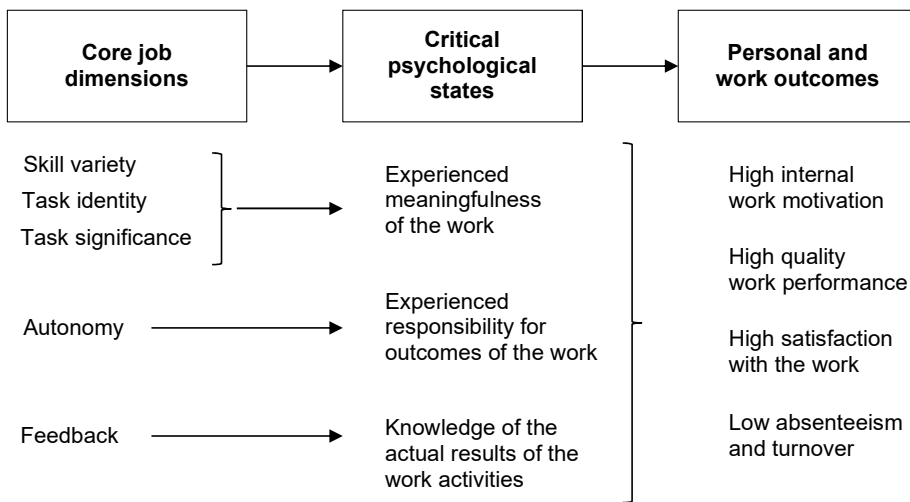


Figure 2 The job characteristic model by Hackman and Oldham (1976: 256)

Based on the model, Hackman and Oldham (1976: 258) hypothesised that the best level of positive personal and work outcomes can be reached “when all the following are true: (a) the job is high on at least one (and hopefully more) of the three job dimensions that lead to experienced meaningfulness, (b) the job is high on autonomy, and (c) the job is high on feedback”. Following the argumentation, they constructed a formula for computing the Motivational Potential Score (MPS) which indicates the degree to which the critical psychological states are met.⁵⁸ The model also included a Growth Need Strength dimension which referred to employees’ willingness to engage in activities geared towards personal growth and development at work and thus foster the attainment of the personal and work outcomes.

⁵⁸ MPS = [(Skill variety + Task identity + Task significance) : 3] x Autonomy x Feedback.
(Hackman & Oldham 1976: 258)

In their review, Judge et al. (2001a: 29) provide an overview of the criticism directed at the job characteristic model. First, it has been criticised for its emphasis on self-reported job characteristics which correlate more positively with job satisfaction than objective data. However, objective reports have also shown consistent correlation with job satisfaction, even if to a somewhat lesser extent. Second, there is no evidence that the model would only work in one direction but rather the relationship seems to be bidirectional which hinders causal explanations between the job characteristics and job satisfaction. The third limitation concerns the assumed mediating role of the critical psychological states as this has not found strong empirical support. In addition, the formula for the Motivational Potential Score has gained little support and there is evidence that a straightforward adding of the elements might provide more reliable results. Despite these limitations, Judge et al. (ibid.) conclude that the logic behind the job characteristic model still possesses potential for further application in job satisfaction studies.

Having collected interview data on the government English translators' job satisfaction, I was keen to find an approach with which to organise and analyse the respondents' verbal accounts, and the job characteristic model provided a promising start. With further reading, I came across the Job Demands-Resources model (JD-R model) which, with its explicit focus on the job characteristics with profound impact on employee wellbeing (Bakker & Demerouti 2007: 309), seems to build on the premises of the job characteristic model. A closer examination of the JD-R model suggested that it provided wider and more analytical perspectives on the possible factors affecting wellbeing at work than the job characteristic model, making it even better suited for the purposes of the present study. The JD-R model also agrees with the proposition put forward by Edwin A. Locke (1969: 334) according to which research on job satisfaction should not start with the question "How can I measure it?" but rather with an attempt to establish "What is it?" which is precisely in line with the present research objective.

3.4.2 JOB DEMANDS-RESOURCES MODEL AND JOB CRAFTING

The Job Demands-Resources (JD-R) model was originally introduced by Evangelia Demerouti et al. (2001) to provide a means to explore factors behind employee burnout. Due to its underlying principles and the overall construct, the JD-R model has, however, since then established its position in research concerned with employee wellbeing more generally. The presentation of the JD-R model is followed by an introduction of the concept of job crafting and their potential links with the present study.

Job Demands-Resources model

The Job Demands-Resources model⁵⁹ is based on the assumption that in any occupational setting employees face two kinds of work characteristics: job demands and job resources. *Job demands* are defined as the set of physical, psychological, social, or organisational aspects of the job that require constant physical and/or psychological effort or skills and are therefore associated with certain physiological and/or psychological burdens. In translators' work, such demands could include an uneven distribution of workload, unanticipated changes to the assigned duties, uncomfortable working conditions, or slow flows of information. *Job resources* are described as the set of physical, psychological, social, or organisational characteristics of the job that facilitate the attainment of work goals, reduce job demands and the related burdens, and/or foster personal growth, learning and development. Job resources are encountered at and have relevance to all levels of work, and they can be divided into four main categories: (1) task-related resources, (2) resources relating to the organisation of work, (3) interpersonal and social resources, and (4) resources relating to the organisation at large. Recently, suggestions have been made to extend the JD-R model to include personal resources, too, because of their obvious interplay with job resources. The same applies to indicators of personal vulnerability (such as neuroticism, workaholism, and pessimism). Therefore, it can be argued that with the introduction of the personal dimension, the JD-R model is no longer a purely situational model, as defined by Judge et al. (2001a: 28), since it attaches certain relevance to the personal characteristics as well. (Demerouti et al. 2001; Bakker et al. 2003; Bakker & Demerouti 2007; Bakker et al. 2007; Hakanen 2009; van den Heuvel et al. 2010; Hakanen 2011, Schaufeli & Taris 2014)

Wilmar Schaufeli and Toon W. Taris (2014: 44) describe the JD-R model as a heuristic model which "represents a way of thinking about how job (and recently also personal) characteristics may influence employee health, well-being, and motivation". They (2014: 54–55) emphasise that there are no limitations to the kinds of demands, resources, mental states and outcomes which can be examined under the JD-R model and that the JD-R model provides an approach which can accommodate any number of different kinds of elements that fall within the model's framework – both intrinsic and extrinsic. This is both an asset but also a potential handicap: it enhances the JD-R model's flexibility and adaptability to different kinds of contexts but, at the same time, it reduces its generalisation power.

Summarizing, the JD-R model specifies what kind of job and personal characteristics lead to what kind of psychological states and outcomes but does not tell us why this would be so. ... Thus, rather than being an explanatory model, the JD-R model is a descriptive model that specifies relations between classes of variables without providing any particular psychological explanation, except that (1) by definition, job demands consume energy and

⁵⁹ Also referred to as Job Demands-Resources theory (Bakker & Demerouti 2014).

may therefore eventually lead to exhaustion and related health problems (the health impairment process), and (2) by definition, job resources have motivational potential and may therefore lead to work engagement, which may result in positive organizational outcomes (the motivational process). These theoretical claims of the JD-R model follow from the way job demands and job resources are conceptualized and therefore do not explain the relations under study.

(Schaufeli & Taris 2014: 55)

One of the JD-R model's premises is that regardless of the nature of the job demands or job resources, they may all have an effect on employees. At the same time, although not all the job demands are automatically negative, they are likely to become highly undesirable aspects of the job, and ultimately result in work exhaustion, or other serious problems, if not dealt with timely and effectively. Job resources, on the other hand, seem to carry inherent value of their own and as tools of achievement or protection of other important resources. More importantly, job resources also have the potential of acting as buffers against the adverse effects of job demands and help maintain employee wellbeing even in difficult work situations. Research based on the JD-R model has shown that employees facing demanding working conditions can be supported and helped succeed when provided with the right resources. The possible interrelations between job demands and job resources are depicted in Figure 3. (Bakker & Demerouti 2007; Bakker et al. 2007; Hu et al. 2011; Schaufeli & Taris 2014)

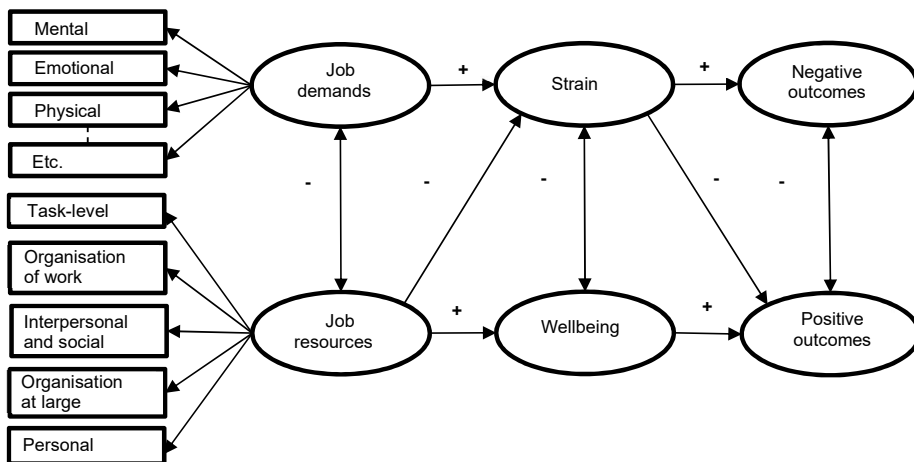


Figure 3 Job Demands-Resources model (adapted from Bakker & Demerouti 2007 and Schaufeli & Taris 2014)

Despite its limitations, the JD-R model provides researchers a broad, simple and flexible framework with which to identify, classify and categorise

information on the prevailing job characteristics and outcomes in any particular work setting. Should this not be sufficient to the research purpose, the lack of the model's explanatory dimension can be counterbalanced with the introduction of other theoretical frameworks designed for that particular purpose (Schaufeli & Taris 2014: 63). In Finland, the JD-R model has been applied, for example, to study work engagement among teachers (Bakker et al. 2007), health care personnel (Mauno et al. 2007), dentists (Hakanen et al. 2008) and people working in retail trade, finance and banking, telecoms and public hospitals (Taipale et al. 2011). Also, very often the JD-R model is applied in studies aimed at collecting quantitative information among large respondent populations to test hypotheses relating to statistical correlations between the job demands and resources and, for example, work engagement, burnout or job satisfaction.

It should also be noted that in organisational research the JD-R model is often used to examine correlations between a set of pre-defined work-related phenomena. In the present study, the scope of the model is limited to the identification and classification of the job resources characteristic of the government English translators' work and the possible links with the expressed degree of job satisfaction. I argue that the JD-R model, with its established parameters, provides a sound framework for the purpose although the aim is not to explain reasons for the existence of the job resources nor predict possible effects on workplace phenomena other than the level of job satisfaction. This is because the JD-R model allowed to test the conclusions of Judge et al. (2001a: 29) which claim that

... if we are interested in understanding what causes people to be satisfied with their jobs, the nature of the work (intrinsic job characteristics) is the first place to start. Research directly testing the relationship between workers' reports of job characteristics and job satisfaction has produced consistently positive results.

In other words, my assumption is that an analysis of the interview data within the framework of the JD-R model enables to determine factors and patterns interrelated with job satisfaction. It should also be noted that, in this study, the analysis of the government English translators job characteristics is narrowed to those they considered to be positive and conducive to their job satisfaction and, consequently, wellbeing at work. The deliberate focus on the job resources is justifiable since, according to Bakker and Demerouti (2007: 312) "resources are not only necessary to deal with job demands, but they also are important in their own right". It is also in line with Hackman's and Oldham's job characteristics theory which emphasised the motivational potential of job resources.

Job crafting

In connection with the examination of job resources, attention is also attached to the indicators of job crafting, a term coined in 2001 by Amy Wrzesniewski

and Jane Dutton. Job crafting refers to employees' self-initiated action which, according to Justin M. Berg et al. (2008):

... captures what employees do to redesign their own jobs in ways that can foster job satisfaction, as well as engagement, resilience, and thriving at work.

Job crafting, therefore, denotes a practice of redesigning one's job and it is interesting for the present study because recent research posits that job crafting can be defined as a behaviour geared towards impacting job resources and job demands. Studies integrating job crafting into the JD-R model have demonstrated that employees can successfully affect the level of their job characteristics through job crafting. As an increase in job resources predicts a positive effect on the level of job satisfaction, it follows that job crafting is likely to be positively connected with the level of job satisfaction, too. Moreover, job crafting seems to function as a buffer in extremely demanding work situations and may thus contribute positively to employer wellbeing in that manner as well. (Wrzesniewski & Dutton 2001; Ghitulescu 2006; Berg et al. 2008; Petrou et al. 2012; van den Heuvel et al. 2015; Hakanen et al. 2017)

Job crafting is manifested in changes that employees introduce to their work-related

- (1) tasks
- (2) relationships and
- (3) perceptions to increase the meaningfulness and significance of the job

First, job crafting can be achieved by adding, accentuating or customising tasks. An employee may, for example, voluntarily take on new responsibilities, emphasise certain aspects of the job by devoting more energy to them, or redesign tasks by adding new dimensions, such as training of colleagues, to them. Second, employees may craft their workplace relations. This can be achieved, for example, by forging new relationships within and outside the workplace or by reframing and modifying the existing relationships through, for example, a mentoring role. Third, job crafting can also be accomplished by changing the way of thinking about the job. Employees may, for example, broaden their way of thinking about the job so that they have a better understanding of the role of their own responsibilities as part of the whole; they may refocus their perceptions by identifying the aspects of the job they find meaningful against the more boring tasks; or they may make effort to recognise new links between their perceptions of the job and its purpose. This means that jobs can be crafted through shaping and changing the task boundaries of the job (either physically or cognitively), the relationship boundaries of the job, or both. (Wrzesniewski & Dutton 2001; Bakker & Demerouti 2007; Berg et al. 2013; Tims et al. 2013)

By crafting their jobs, employees may seek more resources, seek new challenges or aim to reduce their job demands. The resulting situation may

help serve the motives that employees see in and have set for their work, it may enable them to make better use of their personal and professional strengths, and it may provide them with the means to pursue passions and ideas that contribute to the meaningfulness of the work. Job crafting can be approached in small steps and without dramatic changes to the job. It can start with a critical assessment of the existing job resources and each and everyone's opportunities to affect them. It can equally well relate to efforts to view the job and its objectives as part of a wider framework. (Petrou et al. 2012: 1123; Hakanen & Seppälä 2015: 34)

Elina Henttonen and Kirsi LaPointe (2015) refer to the circumstances achieved through job crafting as "the third space" which is a metaphor for alternative workplace scenarios where employees can nurture and invade new room for own-initiative efforts and the work's inherent values. They argue that through the creation of "the third space", job crafting may also provide means for coping in situations where the employees find themselves at odds with the organisation's practices. Henttonen and LaPointe also emphasise that not all job crafting serves the creation of "the third space" as some job crafting may merely result in doing things more effectively at the cost of some more meaningful ways of addressing the tasks. (Henttonen & LaPointe 2015: 77–107)

By complementing the examination of the government translators' job resources with the dimension of job crafting, the aim is to explore the respondents' own role as regards their job resources; in other words, to examine which – if any – of the possible job resources can be attributed to job crafting initiated by the respondents themselves. In this thesis, the focus of the examination is limited to action taken to increase job resources. The description and analysis of the present study do not provide for wide generalisations as the analysis is based on one-off individual interviews which only enable to examine the respondents' perceptions of the prevailing situation and the possible reasons contributing to these perceptions at the given time of data collection.

3.4.3 EARLIER RESEARCH ON TRANSLATORS' JOB SATISFACTION

As regards research on job satisfaction in Translation Studies, Helle V. Dam and Karin Korning Zethsen (2016: 176) list surveys that have been conducted to examine language specialists' job satisfaction during the first decade of the 2000s, but state that most of the surveys focus on interpreters only and that there are only few surveys addressing translators as well (cf. Katan 2009; Koskinen 2009; Setton and Guo Liangliang 2009). According to Dam and Zethsen, the general conclusion of the surveys is that translators, and especially interpreters, are rather satisfied with their jobs and yet very little study has been geared towards investigating what are the factors contributing to this feeling of job-related contentment.

In the 2010s, Fung-Ming Christy Liu (2011, 2013) has assessed translators' job satisfaction, or "job-related happiness", in relation to their visibility but her conclusions, based on a purely mathematical approach among a respondent population of 193 translators, do not include a comprehensive analysis of the reasons for the outcome stating the "study statistically proved that the more visible the translators, the happier they are" (Liu 2013: 144).

Mónica Rodríguez-Castro (2015, 2016) reports on a construct to study the intrinsic and extrinsic sources of translator satisfaction and dissatisfaction based on an online survey focusing on task satisfaction and job satisfaction. She defines *task satisfaction* "as the feeling of success or happiness experienced by a worker during, or upon completion of, a work task" whereas *job satisfaction* "captures the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction related to the job setting and general work environment, including [work-related] relationship[s]" (2016: 202, 205). Her online survey, based on a 1–5 Likert scale, reached 250 respondents "from many countries" and 193 of them identified themselves as translators (ead: 209) – no indication was given of the relative share of the respondents' different employment relationships. Instead of gauging the overall level of translator satisfaction, Rodríguez-Castro's results provide insight into the different sets of extrinsic and intrinsic sources of translator satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Matthieu LeBlanc (2017) has examined the effects of translation technology and the ensuing translation policy guidelines – concerning, for example, productivity and efficiency – on translators' job satisfaction. His results, based on an ethnographic observation and semi-structured interviews in Canada, indicate that the emergence of language technology related business practices has not necessarily been in favour of translators' job satisfaction or, indeed, translator status. He calls for more research in order to root out and resolve the causes for the expressed (dis)satisfaction.

Among the more recent efforts to examine the implications of emotions for translation is the study published by Séverine Hubscher-Davidson in 2018. In her study, Hubscher-Davidson provided a psychological perspective to translation and emotion and she examined whether differences in emotion traits were of relevance to professional translators' (n=155) work and especially to their perception, regulation and expression of emotion in connection with translation. The analysis took place within the framework of Trait Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire (TEIQue) and the overarching purpose was to better understand the significance of emotional intelligence (EI) as part of the translation process. The hypothesis was that trait EI would vary according to the respondents' profile (categorised, for example by age, level of education, or experience). Hubscher-Davidson also proposed (2018: 37) that emotion traits were highly significant to areas such as job competency, job satisfaction, and overall wellbeing. According to the findings, an emotionally competent translator "might be someone older/mature, educated to degree level, with several years of experience, who is satisfied with his or her job, and who has some experience of undertaking literary translation" (ead.:

2018: 195), In terms of the present study, it is interesting to notice that, in Hubscher-Davidson's study, statistically significant relationship could be established between emotionality (EI factor) and job satisfaction as well as between emotion expression (EI facet)⁶⁰ and job satisfaction (ead.: 195). Based on her research, Hubscher-Davidson (2018: 196) also posited that trait emotional intelligence, taken together, was positively and significantly linked with job satisfaction. The established linkage is of interest to the present study as there is indication that trait EI also contributes positively to the acquisition of job resources which, as explained in the previous subchapter, are of key importance to job satisfaction (Miao et al. 2017: 286).

The most recent study on translators' experiences of occupational stress and job satisfaction was published in spring 2019 by Jennifer Courtney and Mary Phelan. Their study, based on a quantitative questionnaire consisting of seven questions, reached 474 professional translators in the UK and Ireland. One of main conclusions of the study was that translation could not be defined as a highly stressful profession although it was characterised by a fair number of job demands, including time pressures and changes brought about by digitalisation. However, Courtney and Phelan agree that, due to its complex nature, occupational stress would require further examination. Another main finding was that translators showed high satisfaction with their work. (Courtney & Phelan 2019: 102, 104–110)

In 2014, Brian Mossop published a methodologically interesting article where he discussed the factors affecting his personal motivation and demotivation on the basis of a diary-based approach. Following a six-week diary keeping, Mossop proposes that research on motivation would benefit from such methods or that they could be used at least to supplement any other data collection methods. This is because through diaries it would be possible to document information on the factors at the moment they appear or take place, and not retrospectively as is the case of questionnaires and interviews, for example. Diaries would also enable to collect information over a clearly established periods of time. This is certainly an interesting viewpoint and it provides new potential for research on translators' job satisfaction in various contexts, too.

Among the studies with significant pertinence to the focus of the present thesis are also the studies published by the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL) in 2011, by Dam and Zethsen in 2016, by Koskinen in 2014 and in cooperation with Ruokonen in 2017 (Koskinen & Ruokonen 2017 and Ruokonen & Koskinen 2017), and by Ruokonen and Mäkisalo in 2018. SKTL's study, conducted in Finland, was an online questionnaire sent to the members of the Association's document translator section with an objective to collect background data on the section's membership. The questionnaire included an open-ended question with an emotional dimension: 'How happy are you with your career choice?' (Miten viihdyt ammatissasi?).

⁶⁰ People who gain high scores in emotion expression are successful in communicating their feelings to others (Hubscher-Davidson 2018: 21).

The study conducted by Dam and Zethsen (2016: 178–179) focused on the narratives of Danish translators and revolved around the overall question: “What is it like to be translator?” As in the present thesis, the analysis was based on those accounts that provided positive arguments to the question (Dam & Zethsen 2016: 180). The objective was to collect data to which to explain “why translators stay translators in spite of the acknowledged low status” (Dam & Zethsen 2016, 180).

The aim of the articles by Koskinen (2014) and by Koskinen and Ruokonen (2017) was to map issues that translators find emotionally significant to their work based on an analysis of fictive love and hate letters composed by EU translators, Finnish professional translators and translation students from Finland and Ireland. Initially, the intention was only to examine the kinds of values and expectations translators have towards language technology tools and the kind of emotional relationship they have to these tools (Koskinen 2014: 76; Koskinen & Ruokonen 2017: 11). In the end, to avoid overemphasising language technology, the respondents were given an opportunity to address their letters to any translation-related factor. It is also to be noticed that in her master’s thesis, Jenna Pikkariainen (2017) applied the same method to gather information on the emotions relating to translator-computer interaction among the government translators in Finland.

Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (2018: 12–13) approached job satisfaction from a different angle and assessed the degree of professional wellbeing and job satisfaction based on certain negative workplace aspects. They focused on the frequency of negative/disturbing stress, pressures to compromise quality and intention to change careers or leave the translation industry.

However, even though these studies either touch or focus on matters that influence and contribute to translators’ job satisfaction and perceptions of work-related emotions, it is important to bear in mind that in each case there were fundamental differences with regard, for example, to the respondent population and the method of data collection. First, the studies differed with regard to the number of respondents (SKTL $n=616$; Dam and Zethsen $n=15$; Koskinen and Ruokonen $n=102$; and Ruokonen and Mäkisalo $n=450$). The number of Dam’s and Zethsen’s respondents is closest to that of the present study’s interview population (total of 16 interviewees). It should, however, be noted that the responses of the retired government English translator were excluded from this part of the data analysis as the intention was to delve on the respondents’ present-day emotions and feelings. Hence, in Chapter 6, presenting the results of the analysis of the government English translators’ job satisfaction, the number of the respondents is fifteen.

Second, the respondents’ employment relationship, and subsequent proportional shares of the research population, were very different. In SKTL’s study most respondents were entrepreneurs; in Dam’s and Zethsen’s study all the respondents had a contractual employment relationship; in Koskinen’s (and in Koskinen’s and Ruokonen’s) study almost half of the respondents had a contractual employment relationship and one third were students; in

Ruokonen's and Mäkisalo's study one third of the respondents had a contractual employment relationship and more than half worked as freelancers or entrepreneurs. The respondents of the present study were all in contractual employment relationship.

Third, as regards the method of data collection, SKTL as well as Ruokonen and Mäkisalo used an online questionnaire with a predominance of close-ended questions; Koskinen (and Koskinen and Ruokonen) collected data in the form of written love letters/hate letters; Dam and Zethsen also collected written data by asking respondents to write personal accounts about being a translator; the data applied for this part of the present study was collected through individual interviews. Consequently, and because of the different research objectives, the data collected by each study differs in its type and analysis.

Although the present study's focus is on job satisfaction, a few remarks on research which has targeted translators' wellbeing or emotions more broadly. A project entitled "Physical and Cognitive Ergonomics of Translation"⁶¹ examined the implications of ergonomic factors, including physical, cognitive, social, organisational, environmental and possible other factors, on translation quality and translators' wellbeing. The results are interesting as they manage bring to the fore practical and educational considerations as well as questions relating to the methodology with which to research the issue. They also suggest that the impact of both physical and cognitive occupational ergonomics on, for example, job satisfaction is obvious and merits further study:

For example, the potential long-term effects on well-being and job satisfaction of working in settings in which translators have limited control over basic aspects of their environment such as temperature, airflow, and noise levels ... should be taken seriously and considered in office policies. Another practical implication relates to the proportion of respondents who reported being disturbed at least sometimes by emails, chats, and phone calls. If translators are often disturbed while working on a translation, they might have trouble entering or maintaining a state of flow ...

(Ehrensber-Dow & Jääskeläinen 2018: 144).

In conclusion, research on translators' job satisfaction was rather scarce prior to the 2000s and often based on the assumption that job satisfaction seems to be "low among translators in business environments" (Hermans & Lambert 1998: 117).

As indicated above, over the past two decades, the field of Translation Studies has witnessed a growing number of studies addressing translator satisfaction from various angles and among various groups of translators; as a

⁶¹ For more, see the final report of the project at https://www.zhaw.ch/storage/linguistik/forschung/uebersetzungswissenschaft/ergotrans_final_report.pdf. Retrieved 5 Feb. 2019.

majority of these studies rely on surveys, there is, however, clear room for more qualitative approaches. The present study aims, for its part, to start filling this void. At the same time, it is precisely because of the methodological differences that possibilities for reliable comparisons and generalisations are limited. Yet, the previous studies provide a useful sounding board for the findings of the present study and enable to draw attention to the characteristics that either support or disagree with the earlier research findings. In the same connection, it is possible to examine whether the fundamental changes in translators' operating environments, mainly due to digitalisation, are reflected in the results.

4 METHODOLOGY

As described in Chapter 3, previous research on translator status has been strongly inclined towards studies motivated by the idea of an occupation's prestige and based on data collected through questionnaires, interviews, and/or earlier research, historical and institutional documents and media articles. The studies have provided descriptions of the prevailing situation, tried to explain reasons for the experienced translator status, and/or provided comparisons between the situation in different contexts and at different times. Ruokonen (2013: 329–336) suggests that, at large, research on translator status can be categorised under three kinds of research models; namely the comparative, causal or agency model.⁶² The present thesis, with its objective of investigating the Finnish government English translators' perceptions of their status and job satisfaction, comprises the three research models proposed by Ruokonen: it allows to make *comparisons* with the results of earlier research but first and foremost it examines the possible *causes* of the status perception and the expressed level of job satisfaction and explores the role of government translators' *agency* in relation to these perceptions.

The aim of the current Chapter is to introduce the methodological framework of the present study with a detailed description of the research objectives and design, the respondent populations, and the applied methods of data collection and data analysis.

4.1 CONSTRUCT OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present thesis aims, within the theoretical framework of the sociology of translation, to describe the Finnish government English translators' perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction and examine factors underlying these perceptions in the first half of the 2010s. The interest in the two topics was triggered by the results of earlier research suggesting that the perception of translators' status was generally low and yet many translators considered their work to be satisfying. All the respondents in the present study were government in-house translators – government here denoting the twelve Finnish ministries. The primary set of data was collected by semi-structured individual interviews in March–July 2013. Data collected in November 2014 through an online questionnaire with a predominance of multiple-choice questions serves as secondary data. Hence, the present study is based on a mixed methods design which, according to Burke Johnson et al. (2007, 123), can be defined as follows:

⁶² Modified by Ruokonen based on the three models of translation research proposed by Chesterman (2000, 2007): a comparative, a process and a causal model.

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.

The turning of the present thesis into a mixed method study, combining both qualitative interview data and quantitative questionnaire data, supports the research question in more ways than one. To start with, it enabled to test the initial hypothesis relating to the perceptions of translator status among the Finnish government English translators against the results of earlier, mainly quantitative research. In other words, it allowed to test my personal feelings of doubt and uneasiness and anchor the research within the context of earlier empirical research on translator status and translators' job satisfaction. Second, the mixed methods approach enabled to test whether the qualitative results would find support in a quantitative approach among the same research population. It also made it viable to enlarge the scope of the research and address the other part of the research interest; namely to investigate not only the status perceptions but also the respondents' level of job satisfaction. Finally, the mixed methods design also provided access to information on reasons that contributed to these perceptions since, in contrast to questionnaires, the interviews allowed to elicit "information on lived experiences and on the meaning which individuals ... under investigation derive from them" (Böser 2015: 236). Having said that it is, however, to be underlined that the interviews constitute the main body of data and, consequently, occupy the most prominent role in the analysis of the results.

However, it can be argued that the by complementing the qualitative data with quantitative data, the present study fulfilled four of the five purposes established by Greene et al. (1989: 259): it sought to examine relationships between the results obtained through quantitative and qualitative methods (*triangulation*) and, by doing so, increased their power of interpretation with regard to the research question (*complementarity*); it aimed to bring new viewpoints and new frameworks to the discussion of the results (*initiation*) with the overall aim of expanding the breadth and range of the inquiry (*expansion*).

Chronologically the collection of the interview data preceded the collection of the questionnaire data. This is because at the initial state of research planning, the intention was only to collect qualitative data through interviews among the government translators in 2013. In the same year, however, I learnt that Minna Ruokonen was also intrigued by translators' perceptions of translator status and conducting research in the same area.⁶³ Having discovered that we had a shared domain of interest, I contacted Ruokonen who

⁶³ Elin Svahn from Stockholm University is also conducting research relating to translator status as part of her PhD thesis on how translatorship is constructed. However, related publications were not yet available at the time of collecting information for the purposes of the present study.

was very willing to cooperate in the study of translator status in Finland and modify the method of national data collection to serve the purposes of the present study, too. In the end, the national level questionnaire was administered in a manner that enabled to filter the responses provided by the Finnish government translators from the data as a whole.

To a large extent, the present study followed a concurrent mixed design where:

... (a) both the quantitative and qualitative data are collected separately at approximately the same point in time⁶⁴, (b) neither the quantitative nor qualitative data analysis builds on the other during the data analysis stage, and (c) the results from each type of analysis are not consolidated at the data interpretation stage, until both sets of data have been collected and analyzed separately, and (d) after collection and interpretation of data from the quantitative and qualitative components, a meta-inference is drawn which integrates the inferences made from the separate quantitative and qualitative data and findings.

(Onwuegbuzie & Johnson 2006: 52)

Therefore, as emphasised for example by Lova Meister (2018: 68), the mixing in itself is not enough but requires that “the result of this mixing (regardless of the shape it takes) is integrated to provide a better understanding of the research problem”. In mixed methods research, it usually means alternating between deductive and inductive reasoning. As a whole, the present study sought to follow the fundamental principle of mixed research where quantitative and qualitative methods, approaches and concepts are combined so that they complement each other and enable avoid overlapping weaknesses (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson 2006: 51).

Figure 4 illustrates the sequence of the independent data collection methods and associated data analysis. The dominance of the kind of data collected in each phase is denoted by capital letters. The Figure also presents the main procedures and products of each phase. (Greene 2008: 13-15; Creswell 2010: 57)

⁶⁴ This aspect of the criteria was not fully met as the qualitative data was collected in spring/summer 2013 and the quantitative data in late autumn 2014.

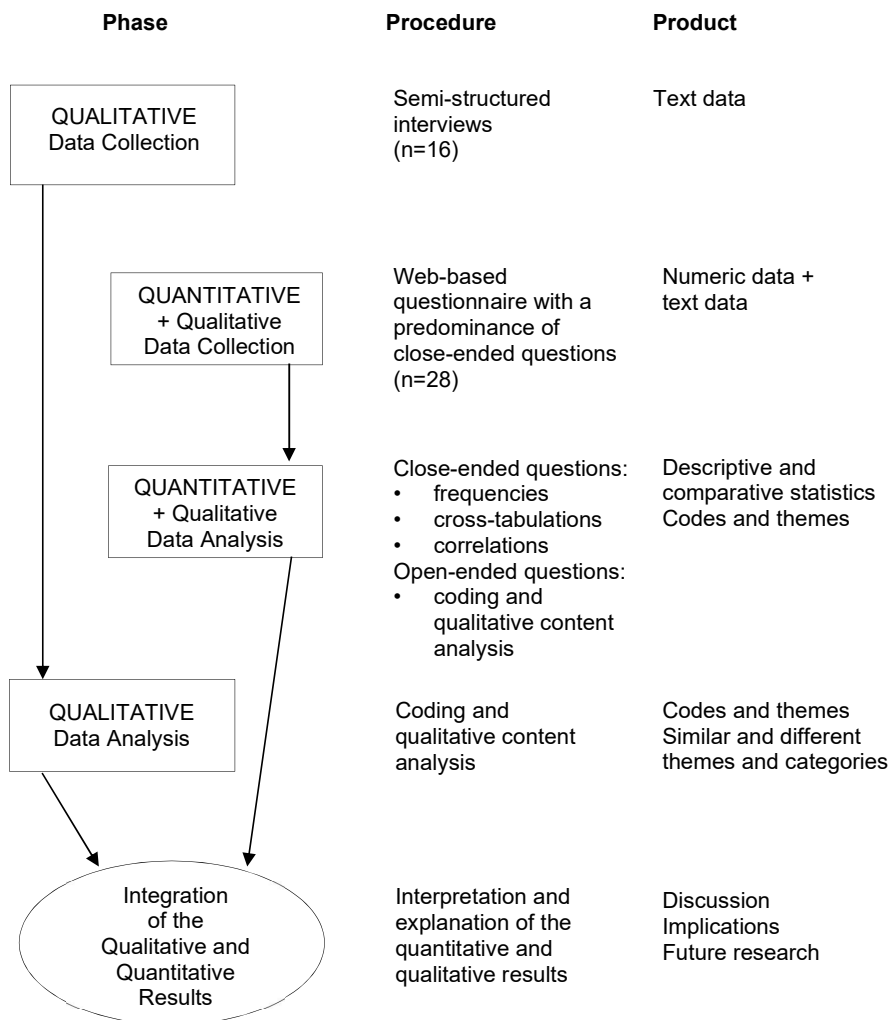


Figure 4 Sequence of data collection methods and associated data analysis (adapted from Creswell 2010: 58–59)

The framework relating to the design quality and the interpretive rigor of mixed method research is defined by Charles Teddlie and Abbas Tashakkori (2009: 27) in terms of *inference quality*, which according to them “is an umbrella term ... to incorporate the terms *external validity* (QUAN) and *transferability* (QUAL)”.⁶⁵ In addition to the research design illustrated in Figure 4, I sought to enhance the inference quality of the present study through consulting and dialoguing with experienced researchers within relevant areas

⁶⁵ Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006) referred to the same concept by *legitimation*. Cf., for example, Creswell (2010) on the problems of nomenclature in mixed methods research.

of study and by subjecting the project to critical peer assessment in half a dozen professional conferences/seminars during the research process.

To sum up the construct of present thesis: its object of study is the Finnish government English translators' perceptions of their translator status and job satisfaction as examined within the theoretical framework of the Sociology of Translation. Positive psychology provides the ideological viewpoint to the object of study. The main method of data collection was based on semi-structured individual interviews among the government English translators, complemented by an online questionnaire among the government translators at large. The interview data, and the qualitative parts of the questionnaire data, were analysed with the means of a qualitative content analysis. The questionnaire data, and appropriate parts of the interview data, were subject to a statistical analysis. Status perceptions were mainly examined in light of a set of four status parameters and other status affecting factors identified in the two sets of data. The examination of the level and factors affecting the English translators' job satisfaction was approached through the Job Demands-Resources model and job crafting.

The next subchapters discuss the design of the data collection methods, methods of data analysis and the respondent populations.

4.2 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

4.2.1 INTERVIEW DESIGN

The questions of the semi-structured interviews (Annex II)⁶⁶ were designed with the objective of collecting qualitative data on the government English translators' status perceptions and the four parameters determining status as established in the very first of the Danish studies: salary, education/expertise, visibility, and power/influence (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 74–75). The second main aim was to collect data on their job satisfaction. However, the intention was not only to assess how translators rated and perceived translator status, as in the Danish studies (Dam & Zethsen 2009), but also to gather information on factors that could introduce new insight into the issue and/or help describe and explain reasons behind the perceived state of affairs. The same applied to the interest in the respondents' job satisfaction.

To achieve this, the individual interviews were based on predominantly open-ended questions which were grouped under five headings, each consisting of six to thirteen questions, sometimes with follow-up questions:

⁶⁶ Translated into English in 2013 as one of the interviews was conducted in English.

1. Questions on organisation and management
2. Questions on job profile, professional autonomy and participation
3. Questions on professional status and awareness of translators' work
4. Questions on wellbeing at work and support for professional development
5. Questions on present and future perspectives

There was no time limit to the interviews and, in addition to the designed questions, respondents were free to comment and provide information on any other matter they considered relevant to the topics. The duration of the interviews ranged from 1 hour 20 minutes to 3 hours 51 minutes, and two of the longest interviews were completed in two sessions. The interviews were conducted in the premises of the Prime Minister's Office and three other ministries. The choice of the interview place was made by the respondents.

The selection of the interview respondents was limited to government translators translating from Finnish into English because, as stated in the introduction, their employment and duties in the Finnish government are not based on statutory requirements resulting from the historical development of the country's language situation and, therefore, the English translators' status is not grounded on legal considerations but stem from fulfilling a purely demand-based function. In other words, as employees, the English translators have not been subject to institutionally imposed conditions advantageous to their occupational status or position within the government. Also, the use of purposive sampling guaranteed a certain level of homogeneity between the respondents which enhanced the internal comparability of the interview findings.

In March 2013, a request to participate in an individual interview was sent by email to all sixteen government English translators in office and to an English translator who had only recently retired after a long career in a ministry. In connection with the interviews, the term *translator* was extended to include positions held by an English language adviser and a terminologist-translator. The duties of the language adviser consisted of editing rather than translating but since editing in general makes part of translators' duties, the language adviser's contribution was not considered to distort the research findings. The same applied to the terminologist-translator since terminological work is incumbent on every translator's work. All other government language specialists were excluded from the study.

In addition to the invitation, the email message included a brief overview of the main research question and the intended timetable and duration of the interviews. The message also explained that, although the interviews were to be audio recorded, all the data would be used and treated anonymously and that the respondents would have an opportunity to amend and supplement their responses by email later on. Only one respondent used the opportunity to provide supplementary information and all of them provided informed

consent for the archiving of the interview data in an anonymous form for the purposes of possible further research.

Following the interviews, the respondents were requested to provide access, as applicable, to internal documents containing reference to or instructions on the organisation and/or provision of the ministry's language services which are discussed in connection with the government English translators' visibility (Chapter 5.1.2). They were also asked for their personal job descriptions to enable to gauge the English translators' inclination towards job crafting (Chapter 6.3). In addition, an information request was sent to the ministries to obtain information on the employment of the ministries' first English translators (discussed in Chapter 2.2) and on the current English translators' pay grades (discussed in Chapter 5.1.2).

4.2.2 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The questionnaire applied in the present study (Annex III) was based on the questionnaires applied by Dam and Zethsen to examine translator status among three different groups of business translators in Denmark in 2006–2009. The Danish questionnaires were first modified by Ruokonen to examine perceptions of translator status among Finnish translation students in 2013–2014. The questionnaire intended for professional translators in Finland was modified to include more open-ended and follow-up questions and, as new topics, questions on working conditions and language technology, too. Throughout the process, particular attention was attached to ensuring that the Finnish questionnaire respect the original formulations as much as possible to allow reliable comparisons between the Finnish and Danish studies. The process also involved test readings by external parties. (Ruokonen 2018: 70; Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 5–6)

The questionnaire was administered in Finnish only. During her study among the translation students in 2013–2014, Ruokonen had noticed that the keyword *status*, as used in the Danish questionnaires, proved problematic in the Finnish context (2016: 194). This is because the Finnish equivalent, *asema*, is open to more than one interpretation and not commonly used in occupational status surveys in Finland (Ruokonen 2018: 70).

As the main objective of the Finnish study was to assure that respondents in both languages, Danish and Finnish, would understand the questions in a similar manner, the final decision was to avoid a direct translation of status and rephrase the questions in Finnish. Ruokonen had used the same strategy in her study among the Finnish translation students (2016: 194). After careful consideration, the questions with the word status were rephrased as follows:

Question on personal status at the workplace:

- *Miten paljon sinua kääntäjänä arvostetaan työpaikallasi?*
- *To what degree is your own work as translator valued in your workplace?*⁶⁷

Question on status in society:

- *Miten paljon kääntäjän ammattia mielestäsi arvostetaan Suomessa?*
- *To what degree is translator's occupation valued in Finland?*

Comparative question on status in relation to other occupations:

- *Miten paljon kääntäjiä mielestäsi arvostetaan Suomessa verrattuna muihin saman koulutustason ammatteihin?*
- *To what degree are translators valued in Finland in comparison to other occupations with the same level of education?*

The direct translations of the rephrased questions may sound slightly clumsy in English but for a Finnish reader the word *value* (*arvostaa* in Finnish) conveys the meaning of *status* as intended in the Danish originals. In addition, as pointed out by Ruokonen (2016: 194; 2018: 70), the wording is familiar to the Finnish respondents from earlier large-scale prestige surveys on occupational status.

The online questionnaire⁶⁸ started with a cover page which explained and introduced the objective and target groups of the study, provided some background information and encouraged for frank responses. It also explained that all the information would be treated confidentially and anonymously and asked for an informed consent to save the data in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive for possible later use. To promote participation, five gift vouchers to a national chain of bookstores were raffled.⁶⁹

As in the Danish studies, most of the close-ended questions offered the respondents five verbal Likert-scale alternatives⁷⁰ in order of the highest ranking to the lowest ranking (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 78; Ruokonen 2018: 70; Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 6). The questionnaire answered by the respondents of the present study consisted of 45 close-ended questions, with seven open-ended follow-up questions, and five independent open-ended questions.⁷¹ The questionnaire finished with ten questions on the respondents'

⁶⁷ As the national level questionnaire was intended for all the professional translators in Finland, freelance respondents were presented with a slightly different formulation: "*To what degree is your own work valued by your commissioners?*" (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 6).

⁶⁸ Based on E-lomake. For more information, see <https://e-lomake.fi/web/briefly-in-english.html>.

⁶⁹ It was also possible to participate in the raffle without filling in the questionnaire.

⁷⁰ It must be noted that Sanjun Sun (2015: 275) argues that, as a general rule, questionnaire items using Likert scales should not include questions but rather consist of statements. Therefore, instead of a question, the respondents should have been given a statement (e.g. *My work as a translator is not valued at my workplace*) followed by the response alternatives. Due to the set objective of partial replication, it was, however, imperative to respect the formulations of the original Danish questionnaires and thus apply the question form.

⁷¹ Depending on the respondents' work profile, the questionnaire consisted of a different number of questions. The three respondent profiles were: (1) Entrepreneur, freelance translator, or freelance translator in a contractual employment relationship, (2) In a contractual or public-service employment

background and an opportunity to comment the questions or the topic of the questionnaire.

To enable the data collection for the purposes of the present study, between late October and early November 2014 the questionnaire was first administered among the government translators only. A link to the questionnaire was sent to all the government translators in office by email and a total of 28 translators completed the questionnaire. This was followed by data collection among professional translators in Finland at large and it managed to attract a total 450 valid respondents (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 6).

4.3 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

4.3.1 INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

For the purposes of the analysis, the interviews were transcribed into text format and the analysis was based on both the original recordings and written transcripts. With the exception of one, the interviews were conducted in Finnish and translations of the provided quotes are mine – the translations follow as much as possible the wordings and formulations of the Finnish originals in order not to change the intended meaning.⁷² To ensure the respondents' anonymity, each respondent is tagged with a code ranging from R1 to R16. For the same reason, and due to the small number of the respondents, reference is not made to any specific ministry or unit of employment. The use of verb tenses was also harmonised so as not to draw attention to the respondent who had retired just prior to the interview.

The analysis was carried out thematically on the basis of, on the one hand, the framework of occupational status measurement and related status parameters and, on the other hand, a model and concepts borrowed from organisational research as described in Chapter 3. In addition to a qualitative content analysis and categorisation, certain parts of the interview data were also quantified.

In the first phase, my intention was to analyse the interview data based on the two sets of independent variables as in the model applied by Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (2018: 6–9) in their reporting of the results of the national level status data to examine possible intercorrelations and appropriate points of comparison. The first set of independent variables, related to the respondents' background information (age, gender, work experience, working language and authorisation). However, due to the small number of the interview

relationship, or member of a cooperative, (3) Student, unemployed, or employed but not in the field of translation.

⁷²One of the interviews was conducted in English. In order to facilitate reading, the cited extracts follow the conventions of a written text, i.e. punctuation and capital letters have been applied. In addition, ... is used for denoting emission.

respondents, this would have jeopardised participant autonomy irrevocably. The application of the model proved futile due to the different data collection methods, too. Therefore, the examination of the government English translators' status perceptions is based on qualitative content analysis only.

The second set of independent variables (Table 5) related to the status parameters applied in the questionnaire based on the Danish studies by Dam and Zethsen (income, education/expertise, visibility, power/influence). The analysis was carried out by examining the interview results relating to the dependent variable of the perceived status of the respondents' own work and the independent variables relating to the status parameters. Table 5 also indicates possible points of comparison provided by the questionnaire based on the Danish studies, and/or the published results of the national level data in Finland.

Table 5 *Independent status variables considered in the analysis of the government English translators' status perceptions*

Status parameters		
As addressed in the interviews of the present study	As addressed in the questionnaire (based on the Danish studies by Dam and Zethsen)	As addressed in the study among Finnish professional translators by Ruokonen and Mäkisalo
Income: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • placement in the system of pay grades • respondents' opinion on its adequateness 	Income: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • level of income 	Income: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • level of income • satisfaction with income
Education/expertise: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • opinion on having an expert position • factors supporting this interpretation 	Education/expertise: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • degree of specialised knowledge required to translate • respondents' opinion on the degree of specialised knowledge required to translate as considered by people outside the profession • degree of expertise required to translate • respondents' opinion on the degree of expertise required to translate as considered by people outside the profession 	No
Visibility: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in terms of external visibility • in terms of internal visibility 	Visibility: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • degree of visibility in workplace • in terms of physical location • degree of visibility in terms of contacts 	No

<p>Power/influence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> possibilities to exert influence and be heard in general possibilities to exert influence on the different aspects of the job 	<p>Power/influence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> degree of influence on the different aspects of the job degree of responsibility degree of possibilities of achieving an executive office or managerial position 	No
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In addition to an examination based on the independent variables, the analysis of the interview data included any other reference to status affecting factors in the respondents' narratives in order to canvass the building blocks of translator status as widely as possible in the given context.

The examination in light of job satisfaction started with an analysis of the respondents' level of job satisfaction, first as a group and then based on the respondents' age and work experience. This was followed by an analysis of the detected job resources and their possible correlation with the expressed level of job satisfaction. The analysis of the interview data finished with an examination of possible links between job crafting and job satisfaction.

When applicable, the qualitative analysis was compared and complemented with the results obtained from the questionnaire analysis. The interview data was also considered in light of the institutional documents available on the internet (ministries' websites and rules of procedure) and those provided by the respondents on request after the interviews (internal instructions relating to the organisation and provision of translation services and individual job descriptions). Reference was also made to the results of the 2014 *Kaikki hyvin työssä* survey on wellbeing at work conducted every second year among government employees by the State Treasury.⁷³

4.3.2 QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

In relation to translator status, the analysis of the questionnaire data followed the model applied by Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (Table 5). Due to the small number of the questionnaire respondents (28), frequencies are mainly referred to as a total number of respondents selecting a certain alternative since a presentation in percentages would have provided a distorted picture and unreliable comparisons. This is because in different sized research populations, each respondent carries a relatively different weight.⁷⁴ Also,

⁷³ *Kaikki hyvin työssä* is an online survey measuring the level of state employees' psychosocial and organisation working conditions based on random sampling. According to the State Treasury, its representativeness of state employees is good. In 2014, it reached 1636 respondents from all administrative branches. For more, see <http://www.valtiokonttori.fi/download/noname/%7B7E150B11-DD79-4F5E-997C-1FE522A5550E%7D/90807>. Retrieved 7 Feb. 2019.

⁷⁴ Among 28 respondents, each respondent carried almost a four per cent weight in relation to the total population ($1/28 = 3.57\%$). In comparison to the study among the Finnish professional translators with its 450 respondents (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 6), this would have indicated a significant difference as $1/450$ is only 0.22%. The Danish questionnaires also consisted of a fairly

mean scores were calculated only when they provided a relevant point of comparison with the interview data and/or earlier studies or significant information about the respondent population as a group. Due to the Likert-scale design of the questionnaire, the mean values ranged between 1 and 5.

The questionnaire also consisted of the following open-ended questions which enabled to collect information on the respondents' opinions about factors and phenomena that either promoted or harmed translator status and on respondents' own action to improve the situation:

- Which factors or phenomena improve translator status in Finland?
- Which factors or phenomena cause deterioration of translator status in Finland?
- What have you personally done to improve translator status?

The open-ended questions were analysed through a qualitative content analysis based on coding and construction of themes. The preliminary thematic analysis was conducted in cooperation with Ruokonen in spring 2017 as part of the drawing up of categories for the organisation of the national-level data. This, again, provided relevant information in relation to the interview results. The first two questions bear significance to the results on translator status whereas the third question relates to job satisfaction and job crafting, in particular.

It is also important to keep in mind that, although numerical in nature, the perceptions captured through the Likert-scale part of the questionnaire are also subjective and biased. This is because absolute dividing lines between any two adjacent options on the continuum cannot be established as space between each choice is based on personal opinions which are not equidistant because the intensity of personal perceptions is not linear or constant. The results based on the Likert scale should, therefore, be interpreted as representing distributions of attitudes among a particular set of respondents at a particular time and place.

As the number of the questionnaire respondents in this study was only 28, the questionnaire results do not lend themselves to similar kinds of statistical analyses as the studies conducted by Dam and Zethsen and by Ruokonen and Mäkisalo. For that reason, the questionnaire results are not sufficient to merit a separate presentation of their own and, therefore, their role is only second to that of the interview results. In other words, the emphasis on the qualitative data is deliberate. However, since conducted among respondents representing the government translators at large and within 18 months of the interviews among the government English translators, the questionnaire's potential to complement the findings of the interview data is not to be wholly overlooked.

limited number of respondents, (47, 65 and 131 each) and for that reason mere percentage-based comparisons between the studies would have provided an inaccurate picture of the results.

4.4 RESPONDENTS

The respondents of the present study consist of the Finnish government translators and, due to the research design, the main focus of attention is on the government English translators. This means that the research population only represents a small, clearly defined sample of all translators in Finland. What is common to this selected respondent sample is that they are all salaried in-house translators.

The intention to compare and contrast the results of the presents study with those of earlier research called for a sufficient match across the research populations and respondent profiles. Therefore, it is worth noting that the studies conducted among the Danish national market translators required that all the respondents had an MA in specialised translations (Dam & Zethsen 2008, 2011). In their later study among the Danish EU translators in 2012, Dam and Zethsen had relaxed the criteria and required “that the respondents hold a university degree at the master’s (or corresponding) level and that they have been employed as translators for at least six months” (Dam & Zethsen 2012: 216). The respondent selection was also limited to respondents holding a full-time permanent position and having translation as their main occupation.

In contrast to the Danish studies, the interview respondents of the present study included a translator with a fixed-term employment contract. The reason for not excluding the respondent from the study was that, at the time of the interview, she had served the government in that role for five years and could therefore be considered having sound experience in the field of government translation.

It should also be noticed that the questionnaire respondents did not fully meet the criterion of the Danish studies either as there were five translators who only had a university degree at the bachelor’s level and three translators who had no university degree at all. There were, however, two justified reasons for not excluding them from the questionnaire population. First, all eight respondents without a master’s degree translated from Finnish into Swedish and in the Finnish government that, as a rule, means that they translated into their mother tongue – this was not the case as regards translations into English and into Russian. Therefore, it can be argued that the respondents had the language proficiency needed for translating; however, it does not automatically follow that they also possessed the skills required for translating. Second, the respondents had been recruited to the ministries through a rigorous selection process including an assessment of their capability to work as a translator. Had they not been successful in their work, the employment relationship would have been terminated after a four-month trial period.

It is also safe to argue that the Danish studies’ insistence on high-profile translators to guarantee “robust findings” was met by the role in society of the respondents’ employers, the ministries (Dam & Zethsen 2008: 76–77). This is

relevant because Dam and Zethsen presumed that the societal standing of the employer might affect translators' perceptions of translator status and related prestige (Dam & Zethsen 2011: 981). Consequently, the Danish studies among business translators had been conducted in "major Danish companies" only (Dam & Zethsen 2008, 79).

4.4.1 INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

All the English translators replied to the email invitation within two weeks and, except for one translator, agreed to participate in the study. The total number of the interview respondents was sixteen, all of them women. Although the number of the interview respondents is small, it provides reliable insight into the government English translators' perceptions having reached all but one of them. At the end of the interview, each respondent was requested to fill in a background information sheet consisting of the following items:

1. Age
1. Ministry of employment, department and unit
2. Years as a translator in the ministry
3. Years as a translator in another ministry
4. Employment relationship
5. Working language/languages
6. University degree
7. Other degrees or diplomas
8. Authorisation
9. Membership of Translation Industry Professionals (KAJ)
10. Membership of the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL)
11. Membership of any other professional networks, associations or societies

With this background information, it was possible to draw certain conclusions of the respondents as a group and see whether any of these factors signalled correlations with the responses provided during the interviews.

The age of the respondents ranged from 31 to 66 years, the biggest group being that of 55–64 years of age. As a whole, the respondents' age distribution was slightly biased toward older age groups as seven out of the sixteen interview respondents were found in the two highest age brackets as illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6 *Interview respondents by age group*

Age (years)	n (16)
65–74	2
55–64	5
45–54	3
35–44	4
25–34	2

Table 7 shows that the respondents typically had long careers – seven of them had been in the employment of the present ministry for more than fifteen years. It is also interesting to notice that eleven of the sixteen respondents had remained in the employment of the same ministry for their entire career within the government as only five respondents reported work experience from another ministry.

Table 7 *Years in the employment of the present ministry and any other ministry*

Work experience in the employment of the present ministry (years)	n (16)	Work experience in the employment of any other ministry (years)	n (5)
26–30	3	26–30	-
21–25	1	21–25	-
16–20	3	16–20	-
11–15	5	11–15	1
6–10	-	6–10	2
5 or less	4	1–5	2

Out of the sixteen respondents, fourteen worked on a permanent public-service employment relationship, one was employed on a fixed-term contract and, as stated before, one had only recently retired after a long career in a ministry.

Four of the sixteen translators reported English as their only working language. The other reported languages were Swedish (7 translators), French (6 translators), German (2 translators) and Danish, Estonian, Italian and Norwegian (1 translator per language). Since the greatest need in the Finnish government is for translations from Finnish into Swedish, English and Russian, the role and need of the other reported language pairs was marginal or non-existent and described rather the translators' language skills than the actual day-to-day demand for translations into those languages.

In addition to having long experience in government translating, all the interview respondents had a university degree at the master's (or corresponding) level. In addition to university degrees, the respondents reported diplomas in the fields of pedagogy, biology, gardening and therapy as well as studies in law, social sciences and communications. As regards involvement in a trade organisation or a translator association, nine

respondents were members of the Translation Industry Professionals (KAJ) and five belonged to the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL), but only one was a member of both organisations. At the same time, three respondents did not participate in the activities of either organisation. Five respondents were certified as authorised translators and four of them reported participation in a translators' organisation.

This background information indicates that most of the interviewed government English translators had long work experience in the Finnish ministries and consequently the number of translators with the age of 55 years or more was relatively high. Due to their employment relationship, all the respondents were also public officials, subject to the same obligations and rights as any other public official working in a ministry. The level of membership of professional organisations was very high.

4.4.2 QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS

Out of the 58 government translators 28 answered the questionnaire, which is almost a half. Although the small size of the respondent population and the mainly multiple-choice design of the questionnaire do not allow for all-inclusive and valid statistical generalisations, the data enables to make comparisons in relation to the interview data. In addition to comparisons with the interview data, it was interesting to see to what extent the government translators' results mirrored the results of the nationwide survey with its 450 respondents.

When asked about their professional identity in the questionnaire itself, 26 government translators identified themselves as *business translators*⁷⁵, which was to be expected as the other given options were *audiovisual translator*, *literary translator* (into or from Finnish) and *other*. Two respondents answered *other* – one of them specified the identity as a coordinator and the other as a public employee. Two respondents reported that they held managerial positions.

Out of the 28 respondents, 23 were women and 4 men; one respondent did not specify. As a respondent group, men were over-represented because, in 2014, the government had only a total of five male translators. The number of respondents older than 45 (n=17) was bigger than those under 45 (n=11), with only one respondent younger than 25 as illustrated in Table 8.

⁷⁵ In Finland, business translators are also referred to as *document translators* (see the website of the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters at <https://www.sktil.fi/in-english/>).

Table 8 Questionnaire respondents by age groups⁷⁶

Age (years)	n (28)
65–74	-
55–64	8
45–54	9
35–44	7
25–34	3
under 25	1

In total, half of the respondents had more than 15 years of work experience in the field of translation, and out of them 11 had worked in the field for more than 21 years (Table 9).

Table 9 Years of work experience in the field of translation

Work experience in the field of translation (years)	n (28)
21 or more	11
16–20	3
11–15	3
6–10	4
5 or less	7

As regards the respondents' work experience in the employment of the present employer, twelve respondents reported between two to five years of public service. However, at the same time, the total number of respondents with more than ten years of work experience was eleven (Table 10).

Table 10 Years of work experience in the employment of the present ministry

Work experience in the employment of the present employer (years)	n (28)
21 or more	4
16–20	2
11–15	5
6–10	5
5 or less	12

Although Finland is a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as its official languages, the government texts are generally drafted in Finnish and then translated into another language, according to the law and need.

⁷⁶ In the statistical processing of the questionnaire data, the two highest age brackets were set at "55–60" and "61 years or more" which makes them different from the other cohorts offered. For the purposes of the present study, I have harmonised the age brackets based on the assumption that the respondents were under the official retirement age of 65 years as they were all still in office. This may obviously be a misinterpretation as government translators have the opportunity to remain in office until they turn 68; particularly so as the interview respondents did include two respondents between 65 and 74 years of age and only one of them was retired.

Consequently, all the respondents reported a language pair including Finnish as the source language and Swedish, English or Russian or Italian as the target language. Three respondents were able to translate both into English and Swedish and one respondent both into English and Italian, although requests for Italian translations were very rare. Other reported translation directions were from English into Finnish (7), Swedish (3) and Russian (2); from Swedish into Finnish (6) and from Russian into Finnish (3). There was also one translator for each of the following language pairs: from Danish, Estonian, French, Italian and Norwegian into Finnish; from German and French into Swedish; from Swedish and French into English; and from Swedish into Russian.

When grouped by the first indicated working language, most of the respondents translated from Finnish into Swedish. The second biggest group were translators from Finnish into English and the smallest group the respondents translating from Finnish into Russian. The number of respondents for each language pair was fairly representative of their proportional share of all the government translators in 2014, with a small under representation of Swedish translators and a slight over representation of English and Russian translators (Table 11).

Table 11 *Number of translators grouped by the first indicated working language*

	Questionnaire respondents 2014		All government translators 2014	
	n (28)	%	n (58)	%
fi-sv	18	64	42	72
fi-en	7	25	11	19
fi-ru	3	11	5	9
Total	28	100	58	100

To illustrate possible variance between respondents with different working languages, certain results in the questionnaire data were also examined in view of the relative distribution of responses in terms of the first indicated working language. This enabled to examine whether the respondents' working language had any relevance to the trends identified in the interview data; especially with regard to the government English translators.

All the questionnaire respondents reported a public-service employment relationship and 26 respondents worked mainly in the employer's premises whereas two respondents mainly worked from home. Only one respondent shared an office with another person. Sixteen respondents were members of the Translation Industry Professionals (KAJ) and three belonged to the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL), but only one was a member of both organisations. At the same time, ten respondents did not participate in the activities of either translation organisation but five of them reported membership of some other trade union. Almost half of the

respondents (12 translators) were certified as authorised translators and six of them were members of a professional organisation or trade union, too.

In summary, the background data indicates that the questionnaire respondents constituted an experienced group of professional translators with a clear non-literary translator identity and a fairly long experience as translators translating from Finnish into other languages within the Finnish government. Almost two thirds of the respondents translated from Finnish into Swedish but in terms of all the government translators they were somewhat under-represented in the respondent population. The opposite was true of the respondents translating into English and into Russian. Male respondents were clearly over-represented. The respondents' level of membership of a professional or a trade organisation was high, with only one fifth of the respondents not being organised.

4.4.3 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE INTERVIEW AND QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS

Based on the collected background information, it was possible to compare the interview and questionnaire respondents in six areas: (1) gender, (2) age, (3) years of work experience in the employment of the present ministry, (4) working language (5) number of authorised translators, and (6) membership of professional organisations or trade unions.

The two respondent groups differed in relation to the first factor, gender, as all the interview respondents were women while four of the questionnaire respondents were men. The relative proportion of men only accounts for one seventh of the questionnaire respondents but, as stated earlier, they were over-represented in that group because, in total, there were only five government male translators at the time. In a population of 28 out of all 58 government translators, a proportioned number would have been two male respondents. Similarly, the interview respondents would ideally have included at least one male respondent; only there were no male English translators within the government at the time of data collection.

The relative share of the interview and questionnaire respondents in each age bracket is illustrated in Figure 5.

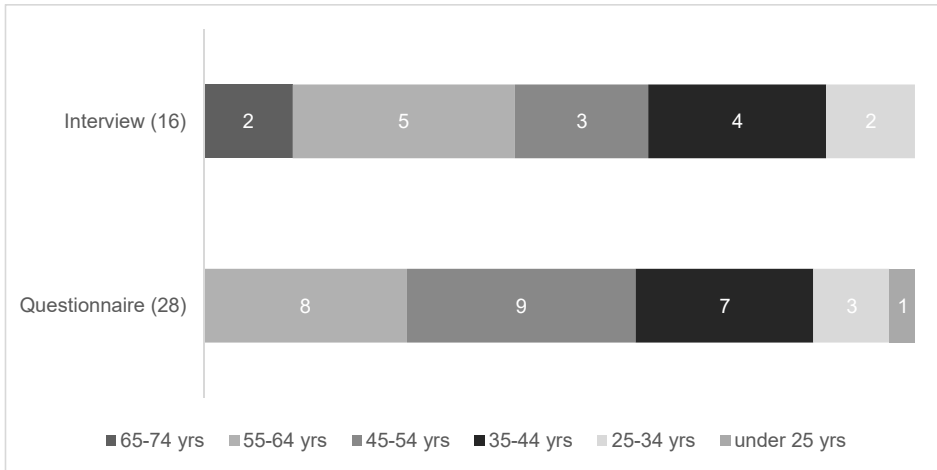


Figure 5 Relative distribution of respondents in different age brackets

Figure 5 shows that both the interview respondents and the questionnaire respondents were fairly evenly distributed between the different age brackets. In both groups, almost an equal share belonged to the age brackets of 45 years or older. However, none of the interview respondents was younger than 25 and presumably all the questionnaire respondents were under 65 years of age (see footnote 74).

In terms of work experience in the employment of the present ministry, the relative distribution between the groups was somewhat different (Figure 6).

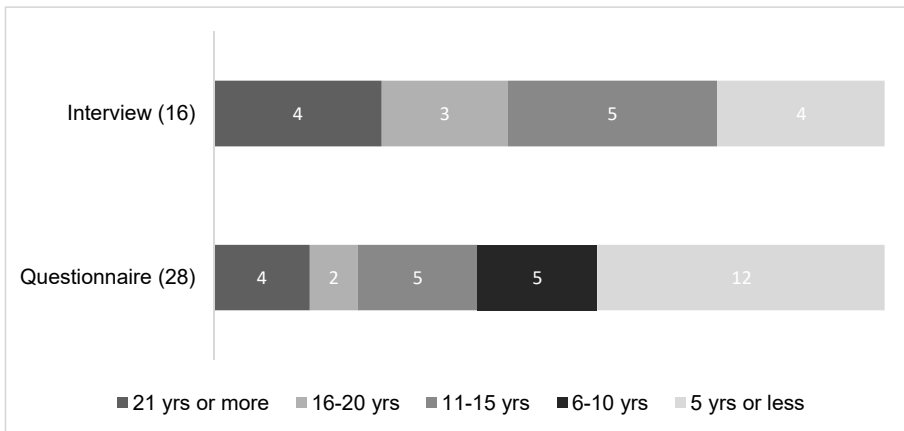


Figure 6 Relative distribution of respondents in terms of work experience in the employment of the present employer

Here, the interview respondents’ relative share of translators with more than 11 years of work experience was bigger (three quarters) than that of the questionnaire respondents (only two fifths). Correspondingly, the questionnaire respondents’ relative share of translators with less experience in the given ministry was larger.

The respondents of the interview study only consisted of government translators with English as a working language. The questionnaire respondents, on the other hand, included translators with Swedish and Russian as their main working language, too.

As regards the number of authorised translators, Figure 7 shows that less than one third of the interview respondents had authorisation whereas among the questionnaire respondents the corresponding share was bigger. However, due to the small number of respondents, this did not indicate a significant difference.

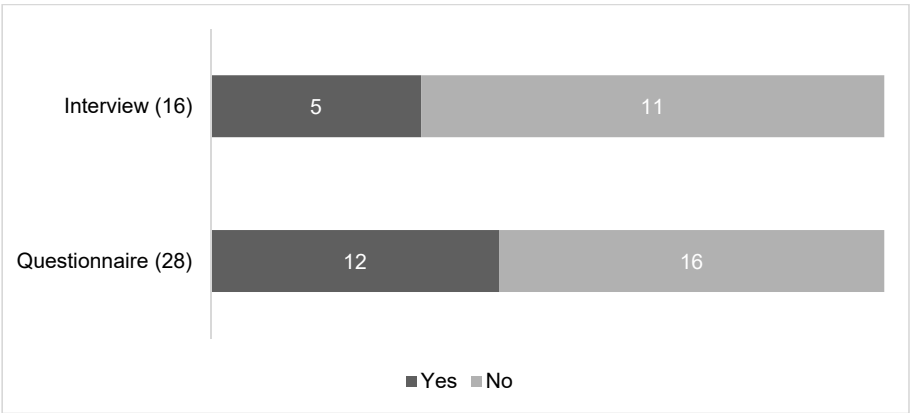


Figure 7 Relative distribution of authorised translators in the respondent groups

The level of membership of a professional or a trade organisation was high and virtually identical in both respondent groups.

4.5 RESEARCH ORIENTATION, THE POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER AND PARTICIPANT ANONYMITY

It can be argued that the research orientation of the present study agrees with the definition of a case study research design which, according to Robert K. Yin (2018: 15) examines “a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident”.

In the present thesis, the aim was to conduct a thorough study of the government English translators' perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction (the "case") within the government setting (its real-world context) and it was quite impossible to predefine any definite boundaries between the role and significance of the given context to these perceptions or, indeed, vice versa. Due to "the emphasis on contextualization and a real life setting" (Saldanha & O'Brien 2013: 207), a case study enables to focus on a particular phenomenon and dissect its meaning as it is lived and experienced by the research participants. On the other hand, it is precisely because of its emphasis on what is typical of a specific well-defined phenomenon that a case study rarely provides widely generalizable results. This does not, however, mean that the findings would be completely non-transferable and without any relevance to comparable phenomena taking place in similar kinds of contexts, as pointed out by Gabriela Saldanha and Sharon O'Brien (2013: 214):

... research can be designed on the understanding that the conclusions may potentially be true of a larger population, but proceeding with caution and documenting carefully the specificities of the case at hand.

A case study rests on the premise that the intention is not only to describe a social phenomenon but also to explain why it might manifest itself as it does (Yin 2018: 4). It seeks to obtain in-depth understanding of the chosen object of study and the key characteristics and dynamics contributing to its occurrence. Again, this correlates with the aim of the present study where the objective was not merely to report the government English translators' perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction but also, and with equal emphasis, to provide a systematic, detailed and truthful examination of the factors underlying them.⁷⁷

Due to its focus on the Finnish government English translators' perceptions, the present study followed a single-case design. However, as the questionnaire reached the government translators at large, it can be argued that they constituted a subunit of study turning the research project into a single-case study consisting of an embedded – even if in this case a secondary – unit of analysis (Yin 2018: 47–53). Also, in addition to the interview and questionnaire data collected from among the research participants, the present study made recourse to multiple other sources of data: 1) statutes, archival records, government reports, minutes of meetings and statistics to provide background information on the institutional setup (Chapter 2) and 2) ministries' websites and internal instructions and previous research and surveys on translator status and job satisfaction (Chapters 5 and 6). This, again, meets the characteristics of a case study where "combining multiple sources of data provides a way of compensating for the almost inevitable bias

⁷⁷ Tapaustutkimus [case study]. Retrieved 16 Oct. 2019 from <https://koppa.jyu.fi/avoimet/hum/menetelmapolkuja/menetelmapolku/tutkimusstrategiat/tapaustutkimus>.

emerging from our sources themselves, be these individual subjects or government statistics” (Saldanha & O’Brien 2013: 217).

The question of bias is of key significance to the problem concerning the role and position of the researcher as well. In her ethnographic study among the European Commission translators, Kaisa Koskinen (2008: 8–10) provides a detailed discussion on the situation where the researcher “is both an informant and a scholar”. Koskinen’s deliberations on the researcher’s dual role apply, to a large extent, to the circumstances of the present thesis, too, since my role as a scholar is inevitably connected with my position as one of the government English translators. In this connection, it must be emphasised that at the time of data collection I worked as an ordinary translator with no supervisory responsibilities within the government or my ministry of employment – in other words, hierarchically, I was at the same level with my respondents, with no seniority or managerial position.⁷⁸ However, this collegiality inevitably led to a situation where, like in Koskinen’s study (2008: 9), my research could not be completely free of the “tacit knowledge acquired by first-hand experience”, even though I made explicit effort both to acknowledge my personal opinions and experiences and to keep them separate from the respondents’ responses throughout the process. On the other hand, it is possible that the respondents may have left some things unsaid or unexplained as they might have intuitively assumed that, due to being professionally acquainted and connected with them, I would also share the same degree of knowledge with them. Should that be the case, then some data was left uncaptured by the present study as no research can be based on inexplicit or presumed information. However, a certain interconnection with the object of the research is quite likely unavoidable:

In doing research of any kind, there is an implicit assumption that we are investigating something ‘outside’ ourselves, that the knowledge we seek cannot be gained solely or simply through introspection... we cannot research something with which we have no contact, from which we are completely isolated. All researchers are to some degree connected to, a part of, the object of their research. And, depending on the extent and nature of these connections, questions arise as to whether the results of the research are artefacts of the researcher’s presence and inevitable influence on the research process.

(Davies 2002: 3)

Due to this connectedness, my entire research project required reflexive awareness of my dual position as a colleague and a researcher – a position also acknowledged by the research participants. At the same time, it is equally true that without my position as an insider, I would have never faced the need to

⁷⁸ As stated earlier, the interviews were conducted in spring 2013 and the questionnaire study in autumn 2014. My appointment as the head the government Foreign Languages Unit took place only in mid-March 2015.

embark on this research project in the first place. Therefore, I would like to argue that by acknowledging my background and its possible pitfalls, by making conscious and deliberate effort to keep my two roles apart, and by supporting and basing the findings on the research data and the related research evidence only, I was perhaps better placed to gain in-depth insight into the chosen research question than would have been possible without my experience of the examined real-life setting. I was, for example, accustomed to the respondents' 'parlance', familiar with the institutional framework and acquainted with the ongoing and forthcoming administrative processes and, hence, able to approach the object of study from various different angles. It also provided conditions for open and relaxed interview sessions. In other words, I was in a position to benefit from the fact that my research depended "both on some connection with that being researched and on some degree a separation from it" (Davies 2002: 10).

Keijo Räsänen and Marja-Liisa Trux (2012: 10) also start with the idea that it is the "professionals who know their work better than anyone else, though even they do not always understand what it is that they are part of and why."⁷⁹ Nevertheless, I fully agree with Koskinen (2008: 9) when she states "that analyzing a familiar professional activity requires an extra dose of self-reflexivity" as, in such a situation, it is all too easy to start reading between the lines and draw connections where none exist. It should also be noted that, unlike Koskinen, my research did not follow the principles of ethnographic research as it did not include periods of observation or other forms of fieldwork; yet, my employment as a government translator cast me in what might be referred to as a quasi-ethnographic role, daily exposed to the same institutional context as my research respondents, even though they represented different ministries and not only that of mine. For that reason, although not an ethnography, my research and my voice as a researcher could never be completely distanced from the chosen object of study, and therefore it is "... *my* interpretations, *my* knowledge and understanding, as well as *my* personal contacts and *my* skills in eliciting information (and *my* limits in all these) [that] delineate the research" (Koskinen 2008: 37, emphasis in original).

In addition to my position as a researcher, I am also aware that by focusing on government English translators' status perceptions and the factors underlying them, my research findings may, despite their academic impartiality, be interpreted as a take on the wider discussion about translators' role in society. Again, I find myself in full accord with Koskinen (2008: 56) although in my case, of course, the emphasis was on translator status and the processes and practices inside and outside the Finnish government:

It would be foolish to expect that one academic study, however, insightful, can have fundamental societal effects, but neither should we be blind to the political and ideological underpinnings of all research, however neutral and

⁷⁹ My translation from Finnish.

objective it purports to be... However, I am not denying that I also hope that I will be able to contribute to the improvement of translation practices and processes in the European Commission and to making the role of translation more visible both inside and outside the Commission.

To finish, I would also like to draw attention to the question of participant anonymity and privacy. As my research participants consisted of government translators, and more specifically, mainly of government English translators, complete participant anonymity was impossible to establish. This is because data on the composition of the body of the Finnish government translators at any given time of history is public information and, as such, available to anyone interested, free of charge. Therefore, as any other group of public officials, the participants do not have anonymity in their role as government translators due to the public nature of the office. However, as research participants, they can and must be guaranteed privacy. In other words, research data is to be stored, processed and reported in a manner which makes it impossible to gain access and identify information provided by any individual participant. In my research process, I made every effort to ensure such privacy and excluded reference to any personal and identifying information that could be linked to a specific respondent and thus jeopardise participant privacy. Yet, as long-time members of a close-knit professional community, the participants themselves may be able to recognise each other's voice and opinions although this is made impossible for readers outside the immediate research environment.

Based on the theoretical and methodological considerations put forward in Chapters 3 and 4, I will now move on to present the main results relating to the government English translators' perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction, with the aim of also explaining factors contributing to these perceptions.

PART III

5 TRANSLATOR STATUS AMONG THE GOVERNMENT ENGLISH TRANSLATORS

There is a saying in Finnish according to which the government sector pay packets are thin but keep rolling in.⁸⁰ Today they are still thin but no longer guaranteed to continue rolling in. State employment, like any other work, is characterised by constant change and increasing demands: more should be achieved with less resources and in less time. Vacant positions are not necessarily filled, and fixed-term employment relationships have become common. Old tasks disappear or are incorporated into new and broader jobs. More and more tasks are automated or carried out electronically. Organisational restructurings are frequent, and the boundaries of working hours are challenged making employees feel that they should be available 24/7. All these factors are of relevance to an occupation's status in society.

As stated in Chapter 3, the prestige survey carried out in Denmark in 2006 served as the starting point for the series of empirical studies on translator status by Dam and Zethsen. The Danish survey comprised 99 occupations, unfortunately, none of them relating to translatorial professions. The three highest scoring occupations were pilot, lawyer and doctor. The study was repeated in 2016 and showed that, even though the highest scoring occupations in Denmark had remained the same, the survey managed to capture changes in prestige perceptions, as publicly financed care occupations had experienced a noticeable hike in prestige over the past ten years.

In Finland, the latest large-scale prestige surveys were carried out by *Taloustutkimus* in 2007 and in 2010 ranking the order of 380 occupations. In 2010, occupations with the greatest prestige were surgeon, specialised doctor and doctor. Again, translators were not included among the rated occupations, but interpreters were, and they ranked number 75 in 2010 which is among the top 20 per cent. However, the interpreters' ranking had gone down by ten points since 2007 and was within a five-point radius with optician, chief law-enforcement officer of a county, vocational college teacher, head of environment protection, upper secondary school teacher, forest worker, teacher at university of applied sciences, part time teacher, CEO, laboratory worker, researcher and border guard. From this, it can be concluded that, in public opinion, different kinds of teachers would seem to constitute the main group of reference for interpreters. This tallies with the results of Katan's research (2009: 127) where the respondents were asked to "give an example of

⁸⁰ A free translation of the saying '*Valtion leipä on kapea, mutta pitkä*'.

(an)other job(s) with the same status”. Almost 80% of the respondents had indicated teacher. It is also interesting to notice that, in Finland, interpreters were placed on the same ladder rung with occupations that mainly require a university degree. (Lappalainen 2010, 30–44)

This Chapter focuses on the government English translators’ perceptions of translator status from two different viewpoints: (1) the status of one’s own work and (2) translator status in society. In the analysis, the status perception is first discussed as an independent theme and then depicted against the four status parameters (income, education/expertise, visibility, and power/influence). This is followed by an account of the role of any other status affecting factors mentioned in the individual interviews conducted in 2013. In the analysis, reference is also made to the results of the questionnaire study among the government translators in 2014 and to earlier research on translator status by, for example, Dam and Zethsen (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011) and by Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (2018) when applicable.

5.1 PERCEPTION OF TRANSLATOR STATUS

5.1.1 STATUS IN GENERAL

Status of own work

In the interviews, the English translators (n=16) were asked to comment on their personal perception of translator status in the ministry of their employment. But instead of asking to *rate the degree* of their status at the workplace, the respondents were invited to *describe* how they perceived the status of their work and profession in the ministry. The result is strikingly uniform as all but one of the respondents commented on their workplace status in clearly positive terms:

Well, at the department they value, that I know for sure. ... Also in our whole ministry, the translators are valued, and the work done by translators. ... I feel that the government has started to value translating work. (R1)

I at least have had there the feeling that translating is valued. (R2)

I’m inclined to say that there are people who value [my work]. (R3)

I’m sure they value [my work]. (R4)

As regards the contents and professional skills, the customers do value greatly. (R5)

I’d say that it has increased or, I mean, that it is valued ... (R6)

It’s good. (R8)

I feel in a way that it has always been valued. (R9)

But in [the ministry] they probably see quite well the importance of translators. (R10)

In my opinion commissioners and people in a way value and thank, and are pleased, and some even praise you. (R11)

I think that we are quite valued here even if we are a bit of a different group. (R12)

So, I am positively surprised [how my work is valued]. (R13)

There are for sure people who value the competence that I have even very much. (R14)

Without exception, the reception is good and with thanks. ... That our work is now being valued ... (R15)

I think among the people I work with, my clients, my customers, it's valued and appreciated. (R16)

So, the English translators' overall impression of their workplace status was very positive. However, although none of the respondents described her status in derogatory or negative terms, there was this one respondent who said that she didn't feel "the world's highest valued" employee in the ministry and two others who pointed out that the sentiment of being valued needed to be accompanied with a proper understanding of the profession for it to feel genuine and worth something.

When asked about the legitimacy of their position within the government, the English translators were very conscious about their different status in comparison to the status of the Swedish translators based on legislation. The results, however, indicate that the English translators did not consider the lack of a legal basis harmful to their status perceptions. In addition, seven of the respondents said that although the status of English translation within the government was not founded in the Finnish law, it found legitimacy in Finland's obligations under international law and cooperation within international organisations.

The interview findings find support in the questionnaire study where the mean of the perceived workplace status among all the government translators (n=28) on a five-point scale was 4.14, and that of the English translators among them (n=7) 4.00. In the questionnaire, seven out of the 28 government translators rated the status of their own work very high, and 19 rated it high. None of the respondents considered that the status of their own work was very low or had no status at all. This is slightly higher than the rating achieved from among the Finnish professional translators at large, where the corresponding mean was 3.94 (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 9), but the difference is not

statistically significant. In Dam's and Zethsen's studies, the perception of translator status at the workplace was only examined among the company translators (2008: 82) and there the mean was relatively low, only 2.87.

As regards the interview respondents' background information (age, gender, work experience, working language and authorisation), in addition to jeopardising participant anonymity, examination of the respondents' own status in light of these variables would have been futile since, by large, the interview respondents reacted favourably to the question. Furthermore, in the questionnaire study, the number of the respondents (n=28) was not sufficient for a meaningful statistical examination even if it were possible to carry out both technically and with due respect to anonymity.

Status in society

Two interview respondents drew attention to translator status in Finland and commented on its deteriorating state. One of them said: "Now, when reading papers and listening to television and watching programmes there, it can be noticed that the status of translating has declined" (R1). This was seconded by another respondent who concluded that "it is quite worrying when thinking about the status of translators in society in general" (R13). As the interviews elicited only a couple of remarks on translator status in society, they did not provide opportunities for examination against the background variables (age, gender, work experience, working language and authorisation) due to research anonymity. Suffice it to say that the comments reflect, for their small part, the results of the present questionnaire study where the mean score of the perceived value attached to the translator's occupation in Finland was only 2.61 among the government translators – only one of the questionnaire respondents rated translators' status in society high and none very high.

The results of the present study are also very much in line with the findings of Ruokonen and Mäkisalo among the professional translators in Finland, where the corresponding mean was 2.55 (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 9), and with those of Dam and Zethsen, where the mean among the Danish national-market translators as a group was 2.68 (Dam & Zethsen 2012: 219–220).

To sum up, at face value the interview results indicate that the government English translators considered that their work was both approved and valued within their own work environment but voiced some doubt with regard to translators' status in society at large. These findings were supported by the questionnaire results where the respondents representing the government translators as a whole considered that they themselves enjoyed a high status in their ministry of employment but rated the profession's overall status, and in relation to other professions requiring the same level of education, only middling or low.

The interview responses, however, deserve a closer look as they introduced some interesting new elements to the discussion. In the interviews, the government English translators made reference to temporal dimensions (*now, always*), locations (*department, whole ministry, society*), media (*papers,*

television), degree (*greatly, quite well, very much*) and definiteness of the perception (*I'm inclined to say, I know for sure, they probably see, without exception*). The responses also reveal that the sentiment of appreciation could vary between different, and not necessarily easily identifiable, groups of people within the ministry (*they, people, commissioners, customers*). Therefore, even though the conclusion is that the government English translators considered themselves confident and appreciated in their professional role, the interviews imply that the positive perception could, in some ways, be conditioned and subject to certain reservations. To gain a better insight into the possible factors affecting the perceived translator status, the Chapter will next examine the results in the light of the established status parameters and then focus on the other determinants that might complement the emerging overall picture.

5.1.2 STATUS IN LIGHT OF THE FOUR STATUS PARAMETERS

Income

In the present study, the question of income was approached from a different viewpoint than in the earlier studies. Instead of asking information about their salary in euros, the interview respondents were asked whether in the government pay system, their pay grade made part of the ministry's expert grades. All the respondents stated that this was the case, and it was also confirmed by information received from the ministries' HR departments.⁸¹ According to one ministry, other job titles in the same pay grade included, for example, EU specialist, HR coordinator, communications officer and web editor-in-chief. In numerical terms, the respondents' salaries fell between the highest 40 and 30 per cent of the ministries' pay grades.⁸² This indicates that with regard to salary, the English translators enjoyed a fairly high standing in the ministries and, indeed, a number of the interview respondents stated that they were satisfied or even very satisfied with their pay and considered that the pay grade was a strong signal of professional value – especially when compared to the general level of translators' pay in Finland.

And it must be said that I'm very satisfied with the salary, like I've got nothing [to complain] about it. So, in terms of salary – in Finland there aren't too many places where translators could get much more. So, in that sense, I'm very satisfied. (R7)

The questionnaire findings of the present study support this interpretation to a certain extent since there, four of the seven English translators reported that they were fairly satisfied with their salary but, at the same time, the

⁸¹ A request for information was sent to all the ministries by email in November 2013.

⁸² It is interesting to notice that in the 19th century rankings, the Senate's translators were in categories 7–9, which places them among the lowest 35 and 50 per cent. So, from a historical point of view, the government translators have improved their relative standing in terms of job grades.

number of those not satisfied or dissatisfied, fairly dissatisfied, and very dissatisfied was only one each. The overall content with the level of income may have been influenced by the news on the negative development of translators' level of income in general – the government translators enjoyed a fixed monthly salary in contrast to translators working in fee-based conditions.⁸³ What was notable in the questionnaire, was the lack of English translators who were very satisfied with their monthly salary. At the same time, regardless of their sentiment towards the salary, the English translators as a group of questionnaire respondents rated their workplace status high (mean 4.00). Therefore, unlike among the Finnish business translators in general (Ruokonen & Mäkisalo 2018: 11), income did not play a decisive role in the English translators' perception of their own workplace status. The Danish studies (Dam & Zethsen 2012: 221–222) also failed to establish strong links between income and the perceived level of translator status.

The overall picture is not, however, so unquestionably simple and straightforward. This is indicated, for example, by those English translators who in the interviews drew attention to the fact that the translators' pay grade was often at the lowest end of the ministry's expert grades and, in their opinion, this indicated that the profession was just barely recognised as an expert function. Another factor that caused discontent among the English translators was that in some ministries, translators were paid different salaries depending on either their location in the organisation or working language. It was also pointed out that as the salary consisted of a fixed basic pay and an individual pay component, that varied according to a performance appraisal carried out by the superior, it could place translators in a disadvantageous position. This was because fourteen out of the sixteen respondents had a superior who was not a language specialist and, consequently, not necessarily the best qualified person to assess the translator's job performance and professional competence. A further source of dissatisfaction was that the respondents knew that the government English translators' salaries varied to a great extent between the different ministries, and this was clearly deemed against the idea of 'equal pay for equal work'.

So, even though most of the interviewed English translators were satisfied with their salary in the given context, they were not blind to the existing inequalities within and/or between the ministries and, due to their long careers, they were also able to put a finger on the sore point. This was interesting because, according to the meeting memorandums of the Government Language Specialists' Network, the issue of salaries had never been systematically approached in the joint meetings and yet, the fundamental aim of the network had been to further issues common to all the government translators. This may reflect a deep-rooted characteristic typical of the Finnish society where talking openly about personal salaries has been considered

⁸³ See, for example, a news article published by the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE on 4 Feb. 2011: <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-5317360>. Retrieved 13 Apr. 2019.

somewhat embarrassing and intrusive – or maybe there were always other, more pressing issues to be discussed.

However, the interviews also showed that, instead of concerted action, the English translators had individually drawn attention to the level of pay as part of the annual performance appraisal talk, but that the attempts had not usually been very successful. In addition, two respondents stated that they considered their work in the ministry so rewarding that they were ready to make concessions in terms of salary. It is, indeed, plausible that the level of income euros did not play a prominent role in the government translators status perceptions as in the questionnaire study, two of the lowest earning government translators still perceived their workplace status to be high – what seemed to matter was the relative standing within the ministry's pay grades.

Education/expertise

The second status parameter focused on education/expertise and in the questionnaire, twenty-six of the twenty-eight government translators were of the opinion that translating required very high or high degree of specialised knowledge (mean 4.57) and all of them considered it to be an expert function to very high or high degree (mean 4.82). At the same time, however, they felt that people outside the profession did not share their opinion (mean 2.57). In light of the mean scores, the findings were very much in line with the results acquired by Dam and Zethsen (2011: 988–989) in Denmark where the mean figures were also below 3. Ruokonen's study among the Finnish translation students, on the other hand, showed that this feeling of underestimation was a commonly shared conception from very early on (Ruokonen 2016: 200).

In the interviews, all the English translators characterised themselves as experts and the descriptions of the ministries' pay grades supported this interpretation since the translators were placed in grades with responsibilities consisting of “demanding duties in one competence area or special duties in a number of different competence areas” requiring “special skills that are difficult to replace” and abilities “to screen out essential information from a vast source of material”. Although satisfied with their recognised status as experts, some respondents described the situation in greater detail, too. The first observation was that for a young translator, it could be practically frightening to assume an expert role and the respective responsibilities, and this was only accentuated by the fact that in most ministries there were no other English translators to consult with.

I've had to work on it a bit, maybe more on the personal level rather than on the organisational level. Or that somehow the fact that when you're young and only recently graduated with short experience, then I felt somehow terrified when people came to ask or called, and then I realised that there really wasn't anyone else I could ask. Like, I'm the one who should know how to answer this, that I'm now the expert that people call and it's in my hands now, even if this term or title doesn't exist, I'm supposed to come up with one. (R7)

Another respondent referred to the same issue by saying that the longer one worked in a ministry, the more one came to understand the vast extent of things that one did not know or understand. Her solution to the ensuing uncertainty was to humbly accept that it was impossible for any expert in any given field to master everything, and therefore, it was simply necessary to have the common sense, or expertise, to look for more information and get networked. In the same context, almost all the respondents told that one of the most prominent features of their work was constant haste. To cope with the situation, one respondent said that it was part of her expertise to critically assess and prioritise not only the order of the requests but also the amount of effort it was possible to devote to each translation; sometimes it was more important to deliver in time than to produce the best possible quality. The respondent also said that, in such situations, it was absolutely necessary to protect one's back and let the commissioner know that quality had been compromised for speed – and even then, it was taking a calculated risk. The respondents did not clearly feel comfortable with the idea of jeopardising their expert reputation by being forced to produce translations based on the vague principle of 'good enough'.

One respondent was of the opinion that perhaps the term *expert* had become overused and, as a consequence, no longer carried the same meaning as originally intended. She was also concerned that by highlighting their role as experts, the government translators were in danger of distancing themselves from the actual translation work and portraying themselves as people who manage and coordinate translations. She personally would have liked translators' expertise to be understood, first and foremost, as an ability to translate rather than an ability to create favourable conditions for translating.

There were also respondents who said that their expertise as translators was clearly more prominent among those commissioners who had realised that the translators actually mastered special terminology relating to the ministry's areas of responsibility and had understanding of the complex processes at play. They also emphasised that expertise was best advanced and demonstrated in one-on-one contacts with the ministry's other employees. The results would seem to indicate, in a roundabout manner, that for people to see translation as an expert function requiring high degree of specialised knowledge, they must have first-hand and frequent contact with professional translators.

Half of the respondents told that language technology and especially the use of translation memories had also contributed to the impression of an expert profession; especially since translators were usually the only employees with information about language technology and its advantages. Three respondents said that information about possibilities to exchange translation memories between ministries, align translations and background material to the memory, and profit directly from earlier translations had "opened eyes"

and made some commissioners and superiors see the profession in a different light. However, in the same connection, the respondents said that they were quite alone in issues concerning language technology which made it difficult to obtain any technical support from the ministry.

The general attitude towards the English translators' level of education did not provoke strong reactions among the respondents. This was perhaps to be expected since all the ministries required their English translators to have a master's degree either in Translation Studies or some other suitable field of study. Yet, a couple of respondents pointed out that the understanding of the required level of education could be deflated by their organisational location among the ministry's support services. In the same connection, one of the respondents said that, based on her experience, a master's degree in languages was not necessarily valued as much as some other university degrees: "Nobody questions a lawyer's expertise but [an English] translator's expertise is constantly questioned". She continued that in an ideal world this would not be the case and blamed the situation on the widespread misconception that "everyone knows English".

In the interviews, none of the respondents mentioned the role of authorisation as an external signal of expertise although five of them were authorised translators. At the same time, however, two interview respondents lamented the fact that "in some places, the commissioners think that it [=translation] can be done by anyone who knows the language". Similarly, in the questionnaire, state-authorisation was not conducive to the perception of translator status in society among the government translators; ratings of high and low status were found among both authorised and non-authorised respondents. The same was true with regard to the perception of the status of one's own work. This is in line with Ruokonen's (2018: 79) study which also failed to establish a connection between authorisation and the respondents' view on status. On the other hand, the findings in Denmark suggested that, among the Danish company translators, authorisation increased the inclination to rate translation status higher than among the non-authorised translators (Dam & Zethsen 2009: 10). A part of the explanation may be that the system of authorisation is different in Finland and Denmark, as are the advantages of authorisation to translators' careers.

At the end of the interviews, the English translators were asked to describe what was the 'good' of the profession to the ministries; in other words, what was the thing that only the translation professionals could provide the ministries with. The question is tied to the issue of status as, without exception, all the respondents said that their greatest asset to the ministries was their broad-based expertise in languages and in communicating ideas. This emphasises the role of expertise in the government English translators' status perceptions.

So, I think we bring quality in language, because we are interested in maintaining a quality in communication. And we're interested in communicating ideas so we know the value of, clear communication and getting ideas across to others in ways that are, that can influence other people, ways that bring information to other people and ways that are non-threatening, perhaps to other people. ... So, I think we bring that understanding to the ministries, that language is important. (R16)

Visibility

In the questionnaire study, the respondents were asked to evaluate the visibility of translators as a group in society and the result (mean 2.07) indicated that it was considered to be relatively low. This indicates that the perception of low visibility was not only connected with the perceptions of a low status, as established in the earlier studies (Dam & Zethsen 2008, 2011, 2012; Ruokonen 2016), but also with that of a high-status perception among the Finnish government translators.

The general feeling of low visibility in the questionnaire results may, at least partly, be attributed to the Swedish legal translators who, according to Liselott Nordman's study (2009: 17), advocate the opinion that in legal translations the text should only carry the voice of the state and not in any circumstances that of the translator: "... in the final [law] translation, translators (as well as drafters and revisers) are completely invisible".⁸⁴ In the context of legal translation, this seems only logical; regardless of the target language. However, it is important to notice that most of government translation into English is not about legal or purely administrative translation but that the translated texts mainly consist of documents where cultural and communicative considerations are of utmost importance allowing and, indeed, requiring greater creativity and adaptation from the translators. Such texts include, for example, speeches, presentations, press releases, country branding publications, brochures and social media postings which are also key to the government's presence in international arenas. Therefore, visibility merits a closer look.

The interviews enabled to examine the visibility of government English translators from two different viewpoints: the level of external visibility and the level of internal visibility. The external level refers to the visibility of the translators and translation services, for example, in the ministry's rules of procedure and website – in other words, how much visibility translators and translation services are given in connection with the ministry's external image. Internal visibility, on the other hand, refers to the visibility that the translators have in the ministry's intranet and internal instructions and practices. It was also manifested in the level that individual translators were given prominence and invited to participate in the ministry's processes involving translating, and

⁸⁴ My translation from Swedish.

otherwise – in other words, how translators as persons with special expertise are portrayed and known in the ministry.

Let us first focus on the English translators' external visibility. As regards the ten ministries represented by the respondents, translation services enjoyed very different levels of external visibility in 2013 (Table 12).

Table 12 *Translators' organisational visibility*

Ministry	Translation services mentioned in the rules of procedure	Translation services mentioned on the website
Prime Minister's Office	x	x
Ministry for Foreign Affairs		
Ministry of Justice		
Ministry of the Interior	x	x
Ministry of Defence		x
Ministry of Education		
Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry		
Ministry of Transport and Communications	x	x
Ministry of Social Affairs and Health		x
Ministry of the Environment		
Total	3	5

Five ministries did not make any reference to their translation services and only the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Transport and Communications provided such information both in the ministry's rules of procedure and on the public website. It must, however, be noticed that in the PMO's rules of procedure, reference was only made to translation services between the national languages of Finland and to the Terminology Service, even though the ministry also employed an English translator and an English terminologist-translator. The other two ministries did not distinguish between languages but referred to the ministry's translation services in general. It is obvious that the information provided in the rules of procedure and on the website, was mainly intended to readers outside the ministry to inform them of the ministry's mandate and the scope of responsibilities carried out by its departments and units. Therefore, it is interesting to notice that, perhaps with the exception of the Prime Minister's Office, the mention of the ministry's translation services in the rules of procedure was more constative than informative and did not give any idea, for example, of the languages provided by the department/unit housing the service:

Rules of Procedure of the Ministry of Transport and Communications

Section 11

Duties of the Administration Department

The mandate of the Administration Department includes matters that relate to ...

11) *translating*; ...

Rules of Procedure of the Ministry of the Interior

Section 15

Duties of the Administrative Unit

The ministry's Administrative Department handles matters that relate to: ...

8) the ministry's *translation and interpretation services* and the development of translation and interpretation services in the government branch; ...

Rules of Procedure of the Prime Minister's Office

Section 3

The Government Administration and Specialist Services Department is responsible for ... *translating* into the national languages documents need in the government, and the Terminology Service handling administrative titles and glossaries

In addition to the above-cited mentions in the rules of procedure, the Ministry of Defence stated on its website that the "[Legal] Unit also produced material in English" and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health informed that the Policy Unit "provides language services for the Department [of Occupational Safety and Health]". Interestingly enough, the rules of procedure of the Ministry of the Interior did not refer to the duties of the translators working in the Press and Communications Services and in the Migration Department, and the website of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health omitted information on the translators who were located in the ministry's International Affairs Unit. This would seem to indicate that the translators' external visibility did not differ only between, but also within the ministries.

Based on the interviews, this did not, however, affect the English translators' perception of their workplace status which would seem to suggest that external visibility was not a precondition for the sentiment of appreciation. Instead of their own external visibility, the English translators were more concerned about the impact of poorly drafted texts on the ministry's external visibility, and a number of respondents stated that they had done their best to make decision-makers to understand this.

In terms of internal visibility, the English translators were on a much more level playing field since nine out of the ten ministries provided information on translation services on the intranet and, in addition, five ministries had included information on their translation services in the ministry's internal provisions and instructions. However, some respondents pointed out that the information was not always easy to find and that its scope and content varied to a great extent; some intranets provided only the translators' contact information whereas others included detailed guidance on how to proceed when needing translation and/or editing services.

The English translators' internal visibility was also strongly manifested in their job titles as, with the exception of one, all the respondents had titles with a clear reference to their position as a specialist in English language. The respondents also told that, in most ministries, an introduction to the translation services was included in the training material intended for the ministry's new employees, and sometimes translators were even invited to give a short presentation as part of the overall training programme. This was not, however, the case in all the ministries and one respondent said that "this is one of the things that we're not really involved in, so that these introduction sessions don't take translations into account". To counterbalance this, three respondents told that they had personally contacted the ministry's units and departments and offered to come and tell about the translation services and how to best cooperate with the translators.

But actually, we translators have ourselves gone, made own-initiative visits to different departments to tell what translating is about, what should be taken into account, and what would you like us to take into account from your side. (R13)

In addition, the respondents told that they occasionally published short articles on the ministry's intranet to inform about new glossaries and instructions, to market the range of services available, or to remind about the basic practices to be followed. Internal visibility was also enhanced by the fact that most English translators received translation requests to their personal email which meant that the commissioners had to know the translators by name.

Another form of internal visibility was manifested by the translators' opportunities to participate and make themselves heard in regular department/unit meetings. All the respondents told that they participated in such meetings but the relevance of these meetings to the translators' work and visibility varied greatly. There were respondents who considered the meetings as excellent forums to inform the other employees and the management about topical issues concerning the translation service whereas others found the meetings too general to really have any significance for anyone.

Yes, we usually have this (--) which then, where everyone tells shortly about the ongoing issues. ... They are useful because you get to hear about substance issues that you also need in translating. (R10)

Yes, we participate in them as and when we find it relevant to bring something up. But, on the other hand, as a translator then there is that in-house attendants and drivers sit and listen something relating to legislation, or the ministry's -, the needs of the English translation services and then it's not at all relevant to them. (R13)

This is clearly related to the English translators' location in the ministry. Translators who worked within or adjacent to the departments/units that they mainly translated for, considered department/unit meetings useful and important channels for information sharing whereas translators located in the administration departments/units considered such meetings mainly frustrating. The suggestion seems to be that visibility in the meetings was considered important when it served the purpose of promoting awareness of translating and related issues among the people who either used or made decisions affecting the translation services. However, it should also be noticed that some respondents considered that participation and visibility in department/unit meetings could serve an important purpose even when they did not offer opportunities for strictly professional interaction and awareness-raising since they offered opportunities for meeting the other employees and getting an overall idea of the issues that were topical in the ministry.

I think it's a nice habit. It shows that we all have here, all the parties, all the employees have significance, all that the people do. Another point is probably that then we have an idea of what everyone is doing, at least an idea. (R12)

Well, in that you get to see the big unit and all [its people]. You get to see your boss physically more often. Because it's, it's quite funny how much importance the flows of information have - - and it in a way increases the feeling of belonging and that, okay, now I know that this person will be away and there then, and that the boss is away then and then and will be back at that time. (R14)

This indicates that visibility and opportunities for equal participation could serve to enhance awareness and the translators' sense of inclusion, but as a mechanism for an improved workplace status, visibility in meetings was not of very high importance. In contrast, direct contacts with superiors were given more significance and seen as an important channel of "getting things moving quickly". Some respondents said that, in addition to direct contacts, superiors' interest was important and added to the sense of being visible. Good direct contacts were considered particularly important by those respondents whose superior was not a language specialist and they were seized as opportunities to "educate" them.

I don't need to wait, and I can go and speak with him directly. And he often drops by to ask if there's anything new. (R1)

[The superior] travels a lot but is always very positive if we [meet] in the corridor, or pops into my office when she is there. (R12)

The interviews also enabled to cast light on the questionnaire study's findings where visibility was assessed in terms of contacts. The questionnaire showed that government translators had most frequent contacts with other government translators and employees working in the same ministry.

Moreover, the study among the Danish company translators showed that “close links and regular interaction between translators and their customers and colleagues” correlated positively with the perceptions of high-status (Dam & Zethsen 2009: 33). Therefore, it can be concluded that the degree of professional contacts bore significant relevance to the perception of translator status. This is further supported by Koskinen’s findings (2000: 60) among the European Commission translators whose invisibility, or anonymity, was accentuated by the fact that “the army of the Commission translators work mainly ‘undercover’ and unbeknown to the other participants of the process”.

Based on the interviews, this was precisely the kind of visibility that the English translators found significant, too, provided that it promoted the awareness of their profession and the smooth running of the service. Therefore, it seems that the government translators did not yearn for visibility as such but considered it to be important as a means of supporting the preconditions for successfully carrying out their work. This was manifested in the reported efforts to provide and maintain updated information on the ministry’s intranet, to attend meetings that raised the awareness of translating, and to foster contacts that could have direct impact on their work. All in all, the English translators were satisfied with their internal visibility – one respondent even said that sometimes she hoped that people did not know her so well, as it would help better control the workload.

At the same time, the English translators did not express any great concern over their relatively low visibility outside the ministry. This also echoed in the results of the questionnaire study where the government translators did not place great emphasis on measures to be taken by translators to improve their visibility in society but considered measures targeting education/expertise to be more important. This was further accentuated in the questionnaire by the fact that the government translators were also quite willing to leave the scene of increased visibility for the literary translators. Yet, the English translators took the external visibility of their work very seriously but not as a means of creating visibility for themselves but rather as a means of promoting and upholding the ministry’s external visibility. One interview respondent referred to this by saying that, in her opinion, the English translators were the makers, guardians and constructors of the ministry’s external international image. This was backed by another respondent who underlined the importance of making the management to understand the significance of English translation to the ministry’s image.

Power/influence

In the questionnaire study, the government translators ranked the influence of their work on the ministry’s success relatively high (mean 3.78) and clearly higher than the Danish national-market translators (mean 2.12) (Dam & Zethsen 2012: 224–225). They also considered their work of certain economic, political, social or other influence, too (mean 3.36). This can partly be explained by the importance of the texts translated by the government

translators as, for example, laws in Finland cannot be passed without being first translated into Swedish. In this light, it is only logical that the perception of importance for the ministry's success was higher among the Swedish translators (mean 3.89) than among the English translators (mean 3.57); but only slightly so. The perception of importance was also supported by the fact that the government translators considered that translating also involved high degree of responsibility (mean 4.43). This is in line with Dam's and Zethsen's findings among the Danish company translators (2009: 28) where the perceptions of a high level of responsibility correlated with the high-status ratings.

In the interviews, the English translators confirmed these perceptions but went on to explain that this kind of influence was mainly exerted through the texts they translated rather than through measures taken as individual employees at the workplace. In the same context, one respondent pointed out that it was, therefore, very important that translators acknowledged that impacting constituted an integral dimension of their duties as the translated texts were often used in contexts aimed at exerting influence on matters important for Finland. Having said that, it was not very surprising to notice that the perception of influence was coupled with a very strong sense of responsibility among the English translators and, consequently, they all considered themselves to be personally responsible for the linguistic correctness and quality of their work. This was partly explained by the fact that most English translators did not have either colleagues or a superior with the right competence to share this responsibility with. One respondent referred to the situation by saying that her boss was never involved in the supervision of her work and the situation was likely to change only if there was a complaint. But the lack of supervision could not be the only reason for the expressed sense of responsibility because translators with colleagues and/or a language specialist as a superior, also shared the same streak of profound personal accountability. Yet, the English translators did not object the situation and seem to have turned the circumstance into their advantage as a factor allowing extensive professional autonomy.

I record the request to myself and then deal directly with this commissioner. There are no in-betweens and no-one else [in the ministry] knows about what I do. (R6)

It should also be noted that the government in-house translators are, by definition, in a position vested with responsibility because, as public officials, they are subject to the Public Servants Act (750/1994) which stipulates about the legal liability of persons in a public-service employment relationship for their acts in office. This may add to the respondents' strong sense of commitment and responsibility because even if the actual act of translating as such does not come under the legal liability, translating often makes part of processes that do so.

Against these results, it is interesting that Koskinen's (2000) study among the European Commission translators indicates that, in a centralised translation service, the perceptions of individual responsibility were less prominent and superseded by a strong sense of collective responsibility. This, on the other hand, was not necessarily a positive feature as "the problem of collective responsibility is that it is easily ignored" (ead.: 60). This problem of collective responsibility was not detected among the Finnish government English translators probably because, with the exception of the Prime Minister's Office, they only had two or three translator colleagues, if any, with whom the responsibility could possibly have been shared.

In the questionnaire, the government translators were asked to rate the degree of influence that they could exert on aspects relating to their own work. The responses indicated that the government translators could best influence the quality of the final translation (mean 4.18) whereas influence on the other aspects of the work – including deadlines, working hours, the texts to be translated, quality of source texts, clientele, and pay level – was rated considerably lower (mean between 2.57 and 1.43 respectively). Against this background, it is interesting to notice that in the interviews the English translators described their position reasonably independent and considered that, in many respects, they had important power over the organisation of their own work. In contrast, according to the results of Nordman's study (2009: 273), only one third of the respondents involved in legal translation into Swedish in Finland shared the opinion that everyone could make themselves equally heard in the translation process.

The issue of quality is tied with the idea of responsibility and this, as discussed earlier, was considered as an essential and independently managed characteristic of the work by all the English translators. With regard to deadlines, a number of the interview respondents told that deadlines were usually negotiable and that the order of priority could, in most cases, be determined by the translator. Or to put it the other way around, the English translators considered that it was actually expected that they be able to recognise the most pressing requests and react accordingly. Most respondents told that, in general, they were able to follow normal working hours and receive compensation for any extra hours in the form of financial remuneration or time off. In the same connection, only one respondent said that her post was officially included in the ministry's on-call arrangements in case of, for example, emergencies, and yet, all the respondents told that it was not unusual to be contacted and asked to work overtime, or even during the weekends, when something unexpected happened. This, however, was not criticised as the English translators considered that flexibility and some kind of "availability" made part of their duties as government translators.

Due to their position as in-house translators, the respondents naturally had limited possibilities to choose their commissioners or the texts they translated, but a few of them mentioned that it was, however, possible to refuse requests and recommend that certain kinds of texts be outsourced as a rule. They

explained that this was done to ensure that the most important documents could always be translated in-house. As a whole, the English translators seemed to share the opinion that their position was vested with the authority to organise and manage the provision of the ministry's English translation services quite independently and that the situation was both welcome and challenging – it enhanced professional autonomy but, at the same time, left the translators quite alone in situations where the demand for translation services continuously exceeded the output capacity of the ministry's in-house translators. Even in the face of the ensuing pressure, the English translators usually considered direct contacts with the commissioners and peer support as the most effective means of addressing the situation – recourse to the administrative superiors was rarely seen as a viable solution.

It's precisely this, that sometimes when we've been in a really tight spot and we've gone, like it's been only once or twice that we've gone to the boss's door and said that now we can't cope, that there's so much and they're all the kind that can't be outsourced, so what can we do? Well, he's still been like nothing really. He's a bit like "Well, what do you think would be the best option?" Then you just have to think how to deal with it and we've usually somehow managed. Together. (R7)

Even in the very beginning when I was hired it was like, "here's [name of a colleague], she'll train you." And so, they were, even, my former boss wasn't even involved in the very beginning. By the time I started to work for [the name of the unit], I had been here for so long that my boss just said, well, she said, do you need any supervision or direct supervision and I said no and she said, okay good. She said if you do just come to me. (R16)

In the interviews, the English translators were also asked about the translators' possibilities to influence their future perspectives within the government as part of the then ongoing project for the central government restructuring (KEHU). Almost all the English translators considered that the opportunities for impacting their own future under the KEHU project were good and there were only two respondents who seriously doubted their opportunities to make a difference. The attitudes towards KEHU were mostly optimistic because the respondents had been invited to actively participate in the preparation process, instead of merely being informed of the decided measures, as had been the case with an earlier project that had aimed at the separation of the government foreign language and translation services from the ministries. A few respondents emphasised that the level of translators' consultation and engagement under KEHU had been improved almost exclusively thanks to their pro-active and networked approach during the earlier projects.

I think that these projects that we've had, that they have also been effective, that we've issued these opinions. So, I believe that they have had influence. ... And this network of ours has also become acknowledged and the decision-makers have realised that it's not only few people here and there, but that we have this network, and we have cooperation and certain established structures. (R1)

At the same time, the English translators were, however, very realistic about their scope for influence and stated that the outcome of the project was likely to have been decided by the top management in advance, but that now they were at least in a position to impact the planning and design of the restructuring process and the ensuing new organisation. The respondents were also pleased that, this time, the preparations concerning the government language and translation services were being conducted in a separate working group, led by the Head of Translation Unit from the Prime Minister's Office, indicating that government translation services had been recognised as an independent function of its own. This had encouraged the English translators to take initiative and draw attention to the matter in discussions in their own ministries, too.

Well, I see it [=KEHU] more as an opportunity. And it's that there's always this small element of danger but now it's more like an opportunity. And at least so far, and based on what I've understood, it's more like an uplift than... That it's already, that it's even given attention like this, mentioned as a separate topic, and we've been included, and the network's being included in the work. It's been raised in a completely different manner than earlier when we've had these enquiries and projects. (R6)

As regards agents that the questionnaire respondents considered the best positioned to influence translator status, the greatest importance was attached to translators' own action and action by translation agencies, translators' associations and commissioners. Since in the interviews the main focus was on factors and phenomena affecting translator status at the workplace, the Chapter will next examine what more the English translators had to say about the situation in practice.

5.1.3 OTHER DETERMINANT FACTORS AND PHENOMENA

The questionnaire consisted of two open-ended questions where the respondents were asked to name 1–3 factors or phenomena which, in their opinion, had either (1) positive or (2) negative impact on *translator status in Finland*. The responses were then grouped under the most suitable status parameter or another recurrent theme.

In addition to questions relating to the status parameters, the interviews, on the other hand, had questions designed to collect information on everyday factors and phenomena that the English translators considered positive

and/or negative indicators of their *own workplace status*. Thus, the qualitative part of the questionnaire and the interviews targeted two different viewpoints on status which are to be discussed in the following; starting with factors and phenomena bearing relevance to translator status in society at large, and then moving on to factors and phenomena that affect personal translator status as experienced by the government English translators in the ministries.

Factors and phenomena that affect perceptions of translator status in society

In the questionnaire, three respondents failed to name any factors or phenomena that *improved* translator status in Finland, but the remaining twenty-five translators identified a number of issues (verbatim translations of the responses in Annex IV) that they considered advantageous to translator status as demonstrated in Figure 8.

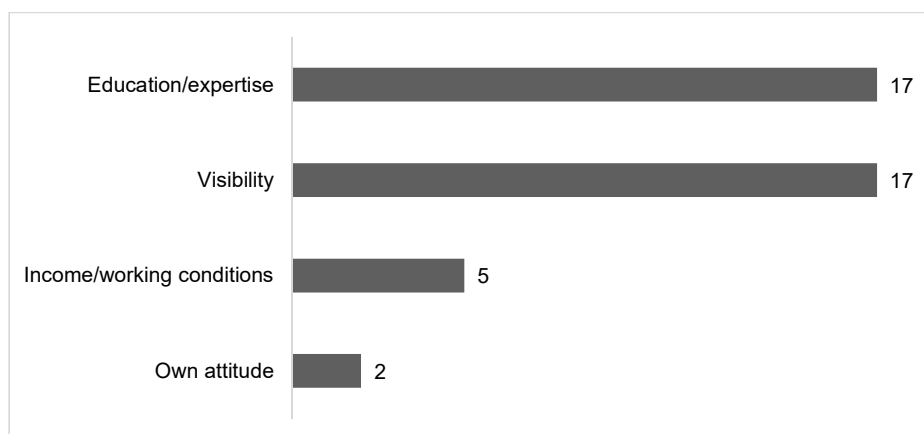


Figure 8 Factors and phenomena that improve translator status

A closer look at the identified factors and phenomena reveal that there was a fair amount of consensus among the questionnaire respondents; at the same time, there were no new revolutionary suggestions that would help change the situation radically and for good in Finland. In terms of the number of mentions, issues relating to education/expertise⁸⁵ and better visibility were seen of equal importance to the efforts to improve the value of the profession, followed by issues relating to income/working conditions. Based on the results, it is safe to conclude that the questionnaire respondents shared the notion that visibility, education/expertise and income were determinant to

⁸⁵ Factors and phenomena relating to authorisation and quality were grouped under education/expertise as they both can be understood as signals of acquired expertise.

translator status in society. It is interesting that factors relating directly to improved power/influence were not mentioned – yet, it can be argued that issues concerning translators' own attitude may relate to the same idea and denote factors and phenomena to assert the profession's position.

It was surprising how much importance the government translators attached to visibility, and particularly to the visibility of literary translators, as a means of improving the status of the profession. This would seem to indicate that the government translators considered any positive visibility to be beneficial to the profession's status and, in that case, found literary translators best positioned for attaining such visibility. The responses would also seem to indicate that there was a general lack of awareness with regard to the level of education and expertise required by professional translation and that the bridging of this knowledge gap would help improve translator status. The low importance given to authorisation was surprising given that eighteen of the twenty-eight questionnaire respondents had expressed views in favour of authorisation. Yet, this was line with the insignificant role authorisation played in connection with the status perceptions as a whole.

In addition to the couple of mentions regarding translators' own attitudes, there were respondents who thought that any measures that promoted the status of Finnish, Finland's bilingualism or legal translation could benefit the overall status of translation. It was also proposed that the status of the occupation could be improved by attracting more men to the field. Funny machine translations provided by, for example, the Google Translator were also considered advantageous for the image of professional translation.

The second open-ended question in the questionnaire asked the respondents to name factors or phenomena which, in their opinion, caused *deterioration* of translator status in Finland. This time all the respondents were able to provide examples (Annex V) and, interestingly enough, the responses could no longer be grouped under the identified status parameters only (Figure 9).

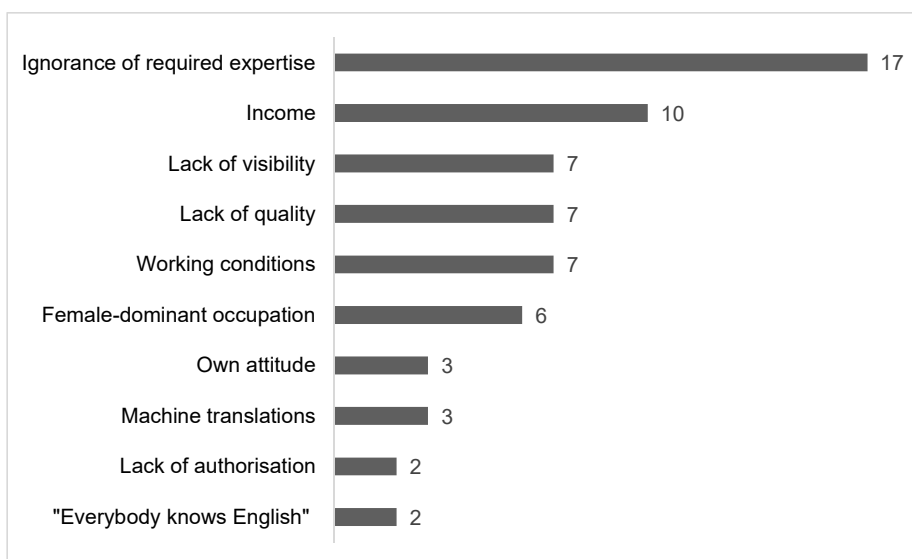


Figure 9 Factors and phenomena that cause deterioration of translator status

However, it was noticeable that the factors and phenomena which the questionnaire respondents considered most deteriorating to translator status in society related to the identified status parameters – education/expertise, income and visibility – but, in most cases, the predominant theme was ‘a lack of’ the characteristics of the given parameter. In addition to factors and phenomena relating to the status parameters, the government translators were, however, able to identify a number of other, equally significant indicators that related, for example, to quality, working conditions and the female dominance of the occupation. A few respondents also drew attention to the role of own attitudes, machine translations, lack of authorisation and the belief that “everybody knows English”.

As visibility was considered to be important to translator status in Finland, it was no great surprise that the lack of visibility received a number of mentions as a deteriorating factor, too. Unfortunately, the respondents did not specify the kind of invisibility they were referring to, except for one respondent who drew attention to the translators’ remote location within the ministry. The position of freelance translators in Finland was referred to both in connection with salary and working conditions. Problems relating to the lack of quality mainly concerned bad translations and, quite likely, their harmful effect on the profession’s image and credibility. Poor machine translations gained also a couple of mentions.

Factors and phenomena that affect perceptions of own translator status

When looking at the interview responses focusing on the signals of positive workplace status, then one of the most frequently mentioned indicators of professional appreciation was the commissioners' readiness to discuss and take into account the translators' questions and proposals concerning the source text. According to one English translator, in her ministry of employment, the commissioners in fact expected translators to point out and comment on possible ambiguities and errors in the source text, and the respondent found this as an indication of a strong position in the ministry's hierarchy. The same applied to the respondents' efforts to improve the coherence and readability of texts written in English by the commissioners.

And I often comment the Finnish text and propose changes to it, that they [=commissioners] have found it very important this kind of cooperation. (R1)

Maybe I'm like, these are really small things but still sometimes, as I said earlier, when if I feel that I'm right, that I try to tell why, even if the commissioner says that "we can't change it like that, it must be like this". Then maybe the value comes from that when, after all, they do accept and believe. In this way. (R4)

In their replies, the English translators also identified the level of trust attached to the quality of their work as an indication of professional value. One of the respondents described it as "people find my work trustworthy and believe in what I do, and they do not question it; the significance of the work or the quality of the work". In the same connection, a number of the interview respondents said that their position as an in-house translator was key to the experienced level of trust. This was also manifested in the commissioners' reluctance to outsource texts which, obviously, had its drawback in the form of an increased workload for the in-house translators. It seemed that a position as an in-house translator conferred the respondents with an overall generic characteristic: you are an in-house translator, *ergo* you are a skilled, reliable translator. One of the English translators summarised this by saying that in such a situation "it's acceptable to make mistakes and correct them – you don't have to perfect all the time and still your status does not collapse" (R9).

... often in these translation requests, they hope that the ministry's translators do it so that it is of good quality. That they trust that they get good-quality translations from the ministry's translators. (R1)

Based on the interviews, the sense of professional appreciation was also affected by the degree of contacts with the commissioners and it was considered important when the commissioners took the time and effort to send a prior warning and discuss forthcoming translation requests. In this context, one of the respondents said that she took it as a significant gesture of

respect when commissioners also contacted to inform about changes in the planned timetable and acknowledged the effects this was likely to have on the translator's work, too.

It shows, for example, in that many commissioners call in advance, especially if they have some more urgent matters. That they call and ask that what kind of a week or day it is, that is there time to do this and that in this timetable. That not just like sending an email stating that this must be ready by this and that date. (R2)

And he/she called again if it [=source text] was delayed, if it came in the afternoon, he/she might call about that also. ... This I took as a [sign of] great appreciation. (R5)

The quotes indicate that direct and self-initiated contacts by the commissioners enhance the respondents' sense of workplace status. And not only that, for the interviews show that inclusion, or the feeling of being part of the ministry's teams and processes at large, was very important for positive status perceptions – it speaks of being recognised as a valuable member of the working community with know-how and skills that are necessary for the employer's success. This, again, supports the results of the questionnaire study where the government translators ranked the importance of their own work to the success of the employer relatively high (mean 3.78). In this connection, only one respondent commented on that the translators' value was also recognised in the ministry's pay system.

And otherwise as well, I don't know, there the translator feels as being part of the big, the organisation in general. In other ways too, I feel that there the levels of bureaucracy are not that high. ... Well, there's generally this atmosphere that all the work is valued, and, in the end, it doesn't matter if you're a secretary or a manager or a director. That, anyhow, we all do valuable work and, in a way, for the common good. (R2)

It made me feel very good. It was precisely the feeling that now they really want to listen and pay attention to translators', to include translators and hear their opinions. ... It's just that there [=in face-to-face contacts] that expertise gets valued. Yes, really. That I'm not just someone somewhere who translates, just translates. (R6)

No, it [=translating] is by no means a kind of work that makes part of a certain phase, which then gets done or not, that it's pasted on top of everything. It's part of the preparation process. I'm a member of the team, and in a way always included. It's strange that translating, when speaking about a translator's work, it's always said as a cliché that it's working alone, but in our case, it's not like that. It's cooperative, and interactive and working side by side. ... And here, in this connection it can be said that a translator's work is never that of a soloist, that it can't be done alone. A translator is always an intermediary for a text made by someone else. (R10)

Respondents regarded that professional appreciation was also illustrated by the fact that translation requests, and questions on language issues in general, were often sent by the same people; in other words, recurrent requests were interpreted as indications of a valued and need-fulfilling service. Based on the interviews, it is evident that frequent personal feedback in general fostered the perception of value and status at workplace. However, the same was true of an opposite reaction; if nothing was heard, it could also be presumed that the commissioner was satisfied.

But it's perhaps more like that if you don't hear anything, then it's appreciated. That they've been satisfied, and things have gone well, as regards the translation [it's] quite okay. (R4)

At least the fact that the same people send translation requests. In a way, there it can be noticed that because you did it earlier, so could you do it again. ... But this is probably the most visible sign of it [=occupational value], that they ask. (R6)

But, in any case, I see that our input is valued, and commissioners send direct feedback and cooperation with them is good. That it is the kind of salt in translation work. (R12)

But there is something more; something that the English translators considered highly important but were unable to describe in concrete terms. It was referred to as “the general atmosphere” and “a feeling” that in most ministries the people who used translation services had come to understand that translating took more than just knowing the language. A certain sense of professional autonomy was also mentioned in this connection.

Well, it's quite hard to always verbalise it. Maybe it's more like a feeling that is. I don't even really know where it comes from [laughs]. (R2)

I also take it as a sign of occupational appreciation that from the administrative side, that I can be in charge and never like, I don't remember there having been this kind of, that when I say “let's do like this” or “this is the description of this and this issue” then everything is always approved. (R5)

This feeling was especially strong in ministries where the employees' overall language proficiency was high and languages key to the implementation of the ministry's responsibilities. The respondents said that in such ministries “they know how to use a translator”. But even in those ministries, the emergence and existence of the feeling of a high workplace status was, however, by no means self-evident and three respondents said that it took some time and effort to prove one's occupational value and attain a valued position.

I felt that with the other translators you had to show that you are up to the task. That it was a bit like being under a loupe. And maybe also with some older public officials. But well, it's probable in every place that you have to show what you can do to gain that kind of appreciation. (R9)

I feel that from say 2005, it [=occupational value] has changed clearly for the better. ... That we have a good reputation and it is of course really important to uphold it. (R15)

This, however, is not the whole picture, for besides being able to identify markers of positive appreciation, the interviewed English translators also draw attention to factors and phenomena that spoke of negative value at workplace. In this connection, it was interesting to notice that one respondent suggested that occupational appreciation and feedback could also be superficial and motivated by more sinister aspirations:

R10: About the concept of value which we talked about, well appreciation is also a very complex notion, that from which viewpoint you assess it and what then, what does it include and what does, what goals the appreciation serves. Because appreciation is also a management tool, and appreciation is also a tool for the exercise of power. Free cheese can only be found in mousetraps, so what purpose is appreciation serving in different points. Are we being oppressed through praise? It is also worth asking what the appreciation is telling about. Well, this now about this appreciation.

I: What's your personal feeling about it? Do you think that appreciation is linked with that kind of exercise of power?

R10: There's probably also that. But I think that, deep down, I naïvely believe that it is quite genuine then.

I: Naïvely?

R10: Well in good faith. *Bona fide* [laughter in the voice]. ... It is possible, unfortunately, to tell when appreciation is not genuine and used for influencing, from that ...

I: What are they trying to achieve with it?

R10: They are trying to achieve that I humbly do the work, even in the middle of the night and compromise, by compromising my rights.

I: To get even more out of you?

R10: Yes. Or then some public official is promoting his or her own career through my diligent translation work.

There might be something in this because the ministries' documents never mention the translator and, in general, public officials use the translations as

their own texts. Also, falsely motivated praise, drawing on a strong sense of responsibility and personal connections, can be a very persuasive tool in any organisation.

Thus, even though the respondents considered that the overall value and understanding of translating was good, there were, for example, structural factors that affected the workplace status negatively. The English translators' location at the ministry was a clear example of this. Thirteen out of the sixteen respondents worked in the ministry's administrative unit, often in the same department with the ministry's support services, including secretarial, transport and other in-house services.

But once again, the organisation and employer don't [understand]. This is just another support function among secretaries, in-house attendants and others like that. That it's not like, not a high-level [function]. (R11)

We are a bit like those support services. We are probably easily grouped together with secretaries. (R12)

The English translators considered that, in those circumstances, it required extra effort to gain and maintain a high workplace status; especially since the people requesting translations were almost never from their own unit of employment. There was a clear difference with regard to English translators who worked in specialised units or departments and mainly translated texts for their purposes – they reported of a greater sense of inclusion and better opportunities for cooperation with the ministry's other employees than their colleagues in the administrative units. One respondent said that the people in her department had come to rely on her experience even in matters that did not relate to translating: "And because having also learned the process, then often someone comes and asks me how this is now supposed to be done".⁸⁶

Unrealistic deadlines were another factor that the English translators considered as a strong indication of a lack of professional value. The respondents said that the very prerequisites of their work were downplayed and disregarded when asked to translate a text in a time that they knew it was simply impossible to do properly, or at all. One of the respondents said that in face of such requests, she felt that her "work was not valued" (R9) and another respondent that "I don't feel that I am not being valued; perhaps more like being taken for granted" (R8).

In my opinion in general that how people can think that in what kind of deadlines they can be done. ... Well then, like five days before it should be ready we start getting them. So that you thought that when it took you some four years to write this, then we can translate it in three days, these 120 pages. And this isn't the only one. ... But really, this is something that we probably curse

⁸⁶ Code not indicated to guarantee the anonymity of the three respondents working for a specialised unit or department.

every week, that how can they imagine that we can do it. That, don't they think at all! (R7)

... often they [=commissioners] just send them with apologies but really demand impossible things. In a way, it makes me feel that do they really understand what it [=translating] requires, that is it just like: "Well they can do it, let's just put it there" [laughter]? (R8)

The suggestion seems to be that unrealistic deadlines spoke of indifference and lack of respect for the work of others since the only way that the translators could cope was by extending working hours at the expense of their time off. But at the same time, one respondent pointed out, with laughter, that unrealistic deadlines and inconsiderate commissioners must be "the universals" familiar to all the translators. This sentiment was shared by a number of respondents and, as one of them pointed out, this was even to be expected to a certain extent because, due to their role, the ministries had to react to unforeseen situations and follow deadlines set by outside bodies and organisations. Yet, as a whole, tight deadlines evoked strong resentment because the respondents were of the opinion that by better internal planning and flows of information these situations could be, if not avoided, then at least reduced considerably in number. This was especially the case when, as expressed by one respondent, "they change dozens of times these press releases and then we get the version of a version of a version of a version" (R7).

The English translators also remarked that sometimes the expressed occupational value was just nice words for a work well done, without deeper understanding of the demands and nature of professional translating. As an example of this, two respondents said that some commissioners still failed to see translating as an essential part of the overall preparation process and expressed opinions like "you don't need to understand this, just translate it" and "because you have the words, you know how to translate". Along the same vein, one respondent said that she had felt extremely undervalued when encountered with a comment that "now we have this Google Translator, so you're no longer needed" (R12). She said that even if it was a one-off remark, and perhaps meant as a joke, it spoke of dangerous attitudes towards translating as a function easily replaceable by technology in a time when the government was exercising austerity and curtailing expenditure.

A particular problem faced by the English translators was that, as one respondent put it, "everyone knows English". This sometimes led to lack of respect, unfair feedback and unfounded changes to the translators' formulations which was considered both time-consuming and rather belittling.

Probably some are too enthusiastic and think that they like know English. That they could get this done themselves just like that. Or they read reports and things in English out there in world politics all the time. So that they don't understand the amount of work it has taken to have them [in English]. (R15)

... these were mainly men in their late 50s, 60s, who had been, they were very good in English I would say, but they wrote very long, wordy, fancy sentences and they would drag the speech for the minister and it would be long and -- you know, "in this connection" and "in regard to", and they might have "in this connection" three times in one long, sentence and -- I took those things out, especially in a speech. [Name] gave me some feedback at that time that there were some negative feelings about this. Some of them stopped using my services, they just didn't send anything to me after a while. (R16)

Some English translators were also of the opinion that in certain ministries the work of the legal translators was considered more valuable than that of the other translators. In worst cases, this was demonstrated by differences in the pay level and opinions voiced in the ministry. This was obviously very frustrating and one the respondents said that "it feels sometimes maybe a bit unfair and unreasonable to spend long nights there because this [translation of non-legal texts] is not considered important work, so why an earth we are sitting here then". The respondent was, however, able to compensate for the situation and find motivation in the fact that her translations "[...] clearly serve a purpose. [...] when I translate these papers and they go to another authority, they actually read every word there, every detail, and it results in action" (R7).

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE STATUS FINDINGS

All things considered, the results of the questionnaire study indicate that, at large, the government translators perceived translator status in society to be relatively low but, at the same time, considered that their own workplace status was unquestionably good. With regard to factors and phenomena affecting *translator status in society*, the questionnaire respondents drew particular attention to the positive role of education/expertise, visibility and income but also to negatively affecting factors and phenomena relating to working conditions, quality, predominance of women in the profession, authorisation and general attitudes (Table 13).

Table 13 *Factors and phenomena that reinforce and undermine translator status in society*

Reinforcing factors in society	Undermining factors in society
Status parameters	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improved awareness of required education/expertise • better visibility (e.g. through the media, prizes) • better income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ignorance of required expertise • lack of authorisation • poor quality translations in the market • dumping of prices and salaries • lack of visibility
Other	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • better working conditions • translators' own attitudes and readiness to cooperate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unfair working conditions (e.g. outsourcing, deadlines) • female-dominant occupation • translators' own attitudes (e.g. lack of ambition) • machine translations • "everybody knows English"

In the interviews, the English translators were also able to provide examples of factors that affected translator status positively and/or negatively, both in light of the status parameters and in more detail, too. Here, the focus was on the perceptions relating to the *respondents' own workplace status* as the interviews elicited only two mentions of translator status in general; both negative in tone.

In terms of income, the English translators' salaries made part of the ministries' expert pay grades which contributed positively to the perception of professional status. However, differences in the salaries between the ministries and translators of different languages in certain ministries caused obvious resentment. As in the questionnaire, all the respondents considered themselves to be experts in the very meaning of the word. At the same time, there was a general understanding of the ensued responsibility and constant need for up-to-date information. The respondents also said that the expert position was enhanced in situations where they were able to show their grasp of the processes and matters falling under the ministry's mandate. The use and mastery of language technology was also important to the expert image in some ministries. However, as one of the respondents pointed out, in the ministries a university degree in languages and/or translation was not necessarily held in an equally high esteem as, for example, a degree in law.

With regard to visibility, the English translators' external visibility on the ministry's website and official documents varied to a great extent while their internal visibility on intranets and in-house instructions was in a better balance. The English translators also had opportunities to participate in the regular unit or department meetings and considered such meetings, together with one-on-one contacts with the commissioners, conducive to their visibility. A new interesting viewpoint to the concept of visibility was

introduced by the respondent who considered translators as makers, guardians and constructors of the ministry's external image – a responsibility of immense visibility par excellence. Paradoxically, outside the ministries the English translators' work was subject to total anonymity as it was always presented in the name of the institution. In other words, a government translator could only serve as "a spokesperson for the institution"; a fact also referred to by Koskinen (2008: 24) in her study among the European Commission's translators and Nordman (2009: 17) in her study on legal translation into Swedish in Finland.

With regard to power/influence, the English translators considered that their work carried certain economic, political and social influence mainly through the texts they translated. The small number of English translators in each ministry and the lack of direct professional supervision also strengthened the perception of personal influence. Yet, as in-house translators, the respondents naturally had very limited impact on their clientele and the kinds of texts they translated. In the same connection, particular attention was given to the central government restructuring project as a means of making the translators' voice better heard.

In addition to factors relating to the status parameters, the repeatedly mentioned elements contributing to the positive status perceptions included frequent and reciprocal contacts with commissioners, trust attached to the quality of the translations, and constructive feedback. According to Justa Holz-Mänttari⁸⁷ (1984: 29), feedback is central to the translation process as it enables to define whether the translation has fulfilled its function or not – although feedback often reaches the translator too late in the process to be of immediate effect. However, Holz-Mänttari (1984: 62) also draws attention to the fact, which was recognised by some of the interview respondents, too, that the translator is usually better qualified to assess the applicability and quality of the final product than the person requesting the translation. For this reason, it was important to notice that, in most cases, the respondents considered themselves on an equal standing with the commissioners and with powers to initiate dialogue them. As suggested by Holz-Mänttari (1984: 63), feedback also provided opportunities for mutual learning and fostered professional expertise. In addition, by being able to justify their solutions in the face of the source text and the translation's intended end use, the respondents cemented their position as professionals with skills essential for the commissioners' work to be successful. Put together, all this was likely to have enhanced the respondents' general feeling of having a strong position in the ministry's hierarchy along with the other experts; of being a valued employer with capabilities that contributed to the implementation of the ministry's mandate.

At the same time, the English translators were quick to identify falsely motivated appreciation, absurd deadlines and ignorance of the prerequisites of translation as indicators of negative occupational value. They also

⁸⁷ Any reference to Holz-Mänttari is based on an informal translation received from German into Finnish as I do not know German.

considered themselves to be somewhat undervalued by commissioners who had unfounded confidence in their own language proficiency and, based on that, questioned the translators' competence and capabilities. This indicates that the English translators were both observant and realistic in their perceptions and had the confidence to draw attention to factors and phenomena that spoke of negative workplace appreciation, too – and by doing so, they managed to provide a multi-faceted picture of their translator status in the ministries.

The main themes of the interview findings are summarised in Table 14 which shows that a factor or a phenomenon identified as an element that reinforced the respondents' perception of personal translator status was, in almost every case, considered counter-effective when found lacking.

Table 14 *Factors and phenomena that reinforce and undermine translator status in the ministries*

Factors reinforcing own status	Factors undermining own status
Status parameters	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salary based on an expert pay grade • Sufficient internal visibility • Required level of education • Impact on the success of the employer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different pay grades between ministries and/or working languages • Lack of recognised external visibility • Belittling of degree in languages • Limited understanding of translators' expertise/competence
Other	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location among other experts • Contacts with commissioners prior to translating (prior warning and background material) • Contacts and cooperation with commissioners during translating (when necessary) • Contacts with commissioners after translating (possible co-editing) • Professional autonomy and trust • Constructive feedback • Feeling of inclusion and significance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location among support services • Lack of prior warning and unrealistic deadlines • Lack of coordination and numerous versions of the same source text • Unconsulted changes to the final translation • Unfounded feedback and falsely motivated praise

Even if the number of negative factors and phenomena is considerable, in the interview responses the English translators were, however, inclined to give greater weight to the attributes of positive occupational value. This is also strongly indicated in their overall assessment of their own workplace status. Furthermore, the English translators tended to soften and find understanding for the instances of professional downplaying and explained them away by the ministries' hectic pace of work, unintended misunderstandings and *force majeure* situations. It is also interesting to notice how well the interviews

echoed the results of the questionnaire study where the respondents expressed opinions that, in order to improve translators' status in society, commissioners should recognise and give value to translators' education/expertise and ensure the preconditions for providing good-quality translations – both make part of the factors that the English translators identified as indicators that either bolster or weaken the perception of value attached to their everyday work in the ministries, depending on the nature and scope of the commissioners' contacts with the translators.

To sum up the interview findings, the analysis of the English translators' perceptions of their workplace status mainly followed the framework of the Danish studies which enabled to draft a framework of the main factors affecting the perceptions in light of the four status parameters. The respondents were able to provide ample information within the given framework, but not only that: they also delved into other factors underlying these perceptions, as has been demonstrated above. Based on the results, I would argue that when looking beyond the status parameters and considering the results from the perspectives made apparent in the interview results in particular, then the identified status-supporting factors seem to make reference to the following recurrent themes: the importance of (1) being recognised and trusted, (2) experiencing inclusion and significance, and (3) having professional autonomy and opportunities for action on own-initiative – themes that cannot be approached on the basis of a standard prestige framework. My argument finds support among Dam and Zethsen who had also come to the conclusion that, in addition to the four traditional status parameters, the translators' perceptions appeared susceptible to what they referred to as “soft” parameters (Dam and Zethsen 2009: 29–30; 2011: 995; 2014: 263). To be able to look into these soft parameters, the present study will next examine the government English translators' perceptions of their job satisfaction.

6 JOB SATISFACTION AND THE JOB RESOURCES CONTRIBUTING TO IT

In line with the first part of the research question, Chapter 5 provided a comprehensive analysis of the government English translators' perceptions of translator status. Based on both the quantitative and qualitative data, it can be concluded that they perceived (1) their own workplace status to be high, and (2) translator status in society to be fairly low.

To achieve the second objective of the present study, the interview data is next analysed in light of job satisfaction and its underlying factors. This finds support in the previous Chapter because job satisfaction is essentially composed of the 'soft' parameters that the English translators repeatedly referred to in connection with the status affecting factors: meaning, mastery, leadership, influence, achievements, balance, communication and colleagues.⁸⁸ In the analysis of job satisfaction, particular attention is given to the role of job resources and job crafting to better establish what it might take to make a government translator tick.

Due to the specific nature of the respondent population and limitations of the interview data, the purpose was not to construct a model for ways of increasing translators' wellbeing at work in general; such models are tempting but seldom feasible. For that reason, the focus was narrowed down to the level of the government English translators' job satisfaction and its characteristics within the framework of the Job Demands-Resources (JR-D) model. Furthermore, based on the deliberate bias on the possible positive attributes, the examination under the JR-D model was restricted to the resources only. The extent and role of job crafting was explored in the same context.

The government English translators' job satisfaction is first discussed in the light of the results of Ruokonen's and Mäkisalo's national-level study (2018). To achieve this, it is necessary to consider the question in light of the quantitative questionnaire data and the English translators' responses there. All the other parts of the discussion on job satisfaction are based on the English translators' interviews.

6.1 PERCEPTION OF JOB SATISFACTION

Instead of attempting to examine the level of translators' job satisfaction in general, Ruokonen and Mäkisalo (2018) examined job satisfaction on the basis of the following three questions:

⁸⁸ See, for example, Job Satisfaction Index 2017 (https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/928487_f752364boa43488c8c767532code4926.pdf) or the Job Satisfaction Survey (<http://shell.cas.usf.edu/~pspector/scales/jssovr.html>). Retrieved 9 Mar. 2019.

- How frequently the respondents had experienced negative, disturbing stress.
- How frequently the respondents had had to lower the quality of their output due to external factors such as deadlines.
- How frequently the respondents had considered changing careers and leaving the translation industry within the past year.⁸⁹

In addition to investigating these frequencies, Ruokonen and Mäkisalo also examined dependencies between the expressed level of job satisfaction and the perceptions of translator status in general and the status of one's own work. For the main part, the correlations proved statistically significant indicating that the experiences of stress were linked with the respondents' status perceptions. (Ruokonen and Mäkisalo 2018: 12–13)

The number of the government English translators completing the questionnaire was only seven. Due to the small number, it was impossible to make statistically reliable comparisons with Ruokonen's and Mäkisalo's data. Suffice it to say that five of the English translators had experienced negative stress and six had lowered the quality of their work due to external factors at least once month but only two had considered leaving the translation industry more often than once a month over the past year (Table 15). Statistical dependencies could not be established between any two of the given items (Fisher Exact Test produced p -values > 0.05) which is to say that, among the English translators, the negative experiences did not correlate with the intention of leaving the translation industry.

Table 15 *Indicators of professional wellbeing*

	At least once a month or more often	A few of times a year or not at all
Experiences of negative stress	5	2
Lowering of quality due to external circumstances	6	1
Intention of leaving the translation industry	2	5

Similarly, the questionnaire data showed no statistical dependencies between the items reflecting the English translators' job satisfaction and status perception (Fisher Exact Test $p > 0.05$).

Before moving on, a few words on the adequacy of the given questions as indicators of job satisfaction on their own. The three questions could obviously serve as facets of a job satisfaction survey, but when put forward as independent questions without reference to other factors determinant to job satisfaction, they fail to capture the overall level of the respondents' job

⁸⁹ Exit or intention to exit the translation industry have also been discussed, for example, by Chan (2005, 2011), Setton and Guo Liangliang (2011) and Abdallah (2010, 2012).

satisfaction. In other words, the negative experiences of stress might be counterbalanced with other, more positive experiences at work and the overall level of job satisfaction be very good, indeed. Therefore, I propose that the three questions should be considered as providing important information on the frequency of certain (negative) workplace experiences and their relations to the respondents' status perception. As such, they also have clear relevance to the respondents' job satisfaction but should not be interpreted as indications of the respondents' overall level of job satisfaction. The whole question of stress as a determinant factor of job satisfaction is made all the more interesting by the findings of Lassus (2013) where one third of the public sector Swedish translators in Finland experienced stress always or almost always and yet as a group, they were among the most satisfied respondents (n=138). Similarly, Courtney and Phelan (2019: 110) discovered that medium and high levels of stress did not exclude "immense" job satisfaction among translators in the UK and Ireland (n=474). Based on all the above, attention will be next devoted to job satisfaction more comprehensively.

Job satisfaction and the government English translators

Since the year 2000, the Finnish State Treasury has, every second year, conducted a survey to collect information on state employees' working conditions, ability to work, wellbeing at work, and personal resources, "*Kaikki hyvin työssä*". The survey does not have a specific question on job satisfaction, but it asks the respondents to rank the level of their workplace wellbeing on a scale between 1 and 10 – a measure which according to ILO's definition "relates to all aspects of working life, from the quality and safety of the physical environment, to *how workers feel about their work*, their working environment, the climate at work and work organization".⁹⁰ In the 2014 State Treasury survey, the average level of the state employees' workplace wellbeing was 7.42 and 61% of the respondents had ranked their level of wellbeing 8 or higher.⁹¹

Against this background, it is not entirely surprising that, when asked to describe *the level of their job satisfaction* in their own words, six of the fifteen interviewed English translators used the words *very satisfied*, five respondents said they were *satisfied* and four told that they were *fairly satisfied*.⁹² It is obviously impossible to draw clear boundaries between the described levels of satisfaction as each response reflects a personal interpretation of the situation at the given moment – what is satisfactory to one, may only be fairly satisfactory to another; and if asked in another moment of time and/or place the distribution of the responses might be quite different. What is, nevertheless, important to notice is that *none* of the respondents

⁹⁰ International Labour Organization (ILO). Retrieved 24 Jan. 2018 from http://www.ilo.org/safework/areasofwork/workplace-health-promotion-and-well-being/WCMS_118396/lang--en/index.htm. My italics.

⁹¹ Retrieved 23 Jan. 2018 from <http://www.valtiokonttori.fi/download/noname/%7B7E150B11-DD79-4F5E-997C-1FE522A5550E%7D/90807>.

⁹² The question was not put to the recently retired respondent – thus here n=15.

described the level of her job satisfaction ‘fairly low’ or ‘very low’. To better define their sentiments, two respondents expressed the level of their job satisfaction based on the traditional grading scale used at Finnish schools, ranging from 4 to 10:⁹³

Well, I’m rather satisfied, like eight plus or, ... at least eight plus, eight and a half. (R6)

Yes, I’m satisfied with my job. ... overall grade, at least very good. Well, at least a nine. (R8)

It also interesting that a number of the respondents made a clear distinction between the level of their job satisfaction with regard to translation-related duties and any other duties the ministry had imposed on them. The latter mentioned duties included, for example, administrative tasks relating to statistics and HR administration or duties relating to public procurement. These kinds of duties were considered frustrating and “extra work” that took time away from the important work: translating.

But if we speak about translating only, then yes, I’m satisfied if I’m allowed to translate and may translate in the ministry. ... But the problem is that it depends so much on the task you do. So, that’s why this a bit difficult question and I’d say that it ranges between four and ten. (R3).

The respondents were not asked to provide reasons for their sense of job satisfaction but most of them took the opportunity to do so. The reported reasons are discussed in connection with the analysis of the job resources.

When examined in terms of the respondents’ age, the results indicate that most of the very satisfied respondents were between 35 and 54 years of age whereas the fairly satisfied respondents were either 34 years or younger or 55 years or older. The distribution of the respondents’ job satisfaction versus their work experience in the employment of the current ministry did not correlate with the level of job satisfaction because three of the four respondents with more than 21 years of work experience were among the fairly satisfied whereas the biggest number of the very satisfied respondents had between 11 and 15 years of work experience. Also, the respondent with the shortest career in the ministry was among those who were very satisfied.

In connection with the question on job satisfaction, the respondents were also asked if they considered that translation was their vocation. The responses can be categorised into three groups depending on the level of the expressed certainty (Table 16):

⁹³ The grades are: 4=fail, 5=adequate, 6=moderate, 7=satisfactory, 8=good, 9=very good, 10=excellent.

Table 16 *Described sense of vocation*

Response	Respondents (n=15)
Considered as vocation	7
Hesitant	5
Not considered as vocation	3

When examined more closely, the replies show that the respondents who considered that being a translator was their vocation used such emotionally charged words as “passionate”, “love”, “enthusiastic”, and “sad”, as in the following quotes:

You wouldn't feel so passionate about it if it was just a means of gaining bread. It would not be possible. (R3)

Yes, that's the way I feel. You wouldn't do this if you didn't have some kind of a love for languages and the sort. (R4)

You see, when I get to speak about my vocation, I get all enthusiastic! (R9)

I care about the kinds of texts that there are out in the world. ... So that if I see something that's badly written, then yes, I feel sad. (R15)

Those government English translators who were not entirely sure about translation being their only vocation were not, however, able to specify what they would have preferred to do if not translate. This group also referred to their work as a government translator with terms such as “really nice”, “inspiring” and “interesting”. It is, unfortunately, impossible to establish whether any of these positive sentiments stemmed from the steady income or other benefits provided by the position as an in-house translator on a permanent employment relationship. In addition, these slightly hesitant respondents often considered that their vocation would, nevertheless, need to involve working with languages in one way or another:

It's not that I've always known, that this is what I thought, but when I've thought about it afterwards, it is the only profession that I am capable of doing because I could not work as a teacher. And in Finland there's not much more alternatives that you can do with languages. (R5)

Yes, it's possible to think that I could do something else as well. But it would always have had to have something to do with languages. (R11)

The three respondents who did not consider translation as their vocation stated that they had other interests in addition to languages and that they had ended up in the profession for a different reason, as described in the following quotes:

I first considered studying [a field of study]. But then, it was those times when it was becoming clear that Finland won't live of, or that [the field in question] will not have a future in Finland, that it was radically diminishing, its share, in this country. And then I started considering other options and I thought that a profession in languages is something that will probably be needed in every place, that it will be useful everywhere, and then I applied for language studies. (R10)

I had another plan, but I didn't pursue it determinately. And then languages were quite easy. So, I must say that I probably drifted to this path somewhat accidentally. (R12)

At the same time, two of these respondents said that they were currently very satisfied with their job as a government translator and the third respondent considered herself satisfied. Moreover, even these respondents who did not find translation their true or only calling used expressions such as "interesting", "rewarding" and "fruitful" when referring to different aspects of their translation work. Therefore, even when translation could not be described as the respondent's great passion in life, it managed to prompt positive feelings. It is also interesting to notice that most of the respondents who were hesitant or did not consider translation their vocation, were found among the very satisfied and satisfied respondents (Table 17). However, based on the Fisher exact test, no statistical correlation could be established ($p=0.569$). Therefore, the English translators' level of job satisfaction and sense of vocation were not mutually interdependent or reinforcing factors.

Table 17 *Described level of job satisfaction vs. the sense of vocation*

n=15	Satisfied and very satisfied	Fairly satisfied
Considered as vocation	6	1
Hesitant or not considered as vocation	5	3
Total	11	4

It is also interesting to notice that pay was mentioned by both those respondents who considered translation their vocation and by those who did not do so. The respondents who considered translation their vocation said that being able to work as translators and with languages compensated for the relatively poor pay. At the same time, a couple of these respondents admitted that if they were working as freelancers the situation would probably be very different. In the same vain, some respondents drew attention to the fact that more important than being a vocation was the fact that translation provided a means of livelihood and matched their skills.

I don't know if this is my vocation, but I don't know what else it could be to earn a living. I would have other things to do but I know that now I'm doing a job that I'm good at. I know this job and have the skills. (R13)

In light of the earlier studies on job satisfaction, SKTL's study among its document translators in 2011 asked the respondents to describe how happy they were with their career choice. In addition to the most common response of "being happy/very happy with the career choice", there were respondents who also described their relationship to the job in very affectionate terms and stated that they "loved it", that it was their "dream profession, or that languages were their "great passion". A sense of affection and calling could be identified as one of the response categories in Koskinen's study as well; one the respondents had started his/her love letter by "Dear translation, You are really my vocation and I really love you." (Koskinen 2014: 80). Similarly, Dam and Zethsen (2016: 180) concluded that one of the four identified themes about translation was that it "is exciting and satisfying" and that the translators "without exception, express joy in the act of translating". In another context, Abdallah (2010: 42) had also found that translators received "inner satisfaction from doing their work well."

All this indicates that translators have strong positive emotions towards their work. It also supports the opinion put forward by an experienced Finnish literary translator, Kersti Juva. According to Juva (Aphalo 2015), translation is a vocation and it requires not only the necessary skills set but also an aptitude and innate zeal for translation – an urge to translate. What may be somewhat surprising, though, is that this should be echoed so strongly among the business translators, too. It suggests that the fascination held by translation cannot be prompted by the nature of the translated texts only, but the other aspects of the work must occupy a significant position and play an important role as well; all this, accompanied with a certain sense of vocation, is likely to be manifested in the government English translators' high level of job satisfaction. But, as pointed out by Hakanen (2009: 5), job satisfaction, and other workplace emotions, are not an easy and consistent object of study because even if employees may find themselves in situations that create stress, insecurity and conflicting feelings they, nevertheless, may also consider their job very rewarding, enjoy the possibilities to cooperate with their colleagues, and derive great motivation through the accomplishment of the set goals. For that reason, the Chapter will next examine the government English translators' job resources.

6.2 JOB RESOURCES CONTRIBUTING TO GOVERNMENT ENGLISH TRANSLATORS' JOB SATISFACTION

In this subchapter, the objective is to examine the job resources that contributed to the government English translators' job satisfaction and enabled them to find motivation and flourish not only in good but also in more challenging times (Hakanen 2009, 3). This is a well justified goal not only for the sake of the identification and categorisation of the reported job resources

as such, but first and foremost because they carry the potential of moderating and counterbalancing the impact of the negative aspects of work. Thus, the identification and categorisation of translators' job resources serves two purposes: it concretises the kinds of job resources that were key to government English translators' job satisfaction and, by doing so, make it potentially possible to enhance and promote them in similar circumstances. In addition to the four traditional job resources categories, the analysis also included an examination of any identified personal resources as suggested by recent research.

The exploration of the positive job resources was based on the logic of abundance approach which in the Oxford Handbook of Positive Psychology and Work is defined by Linley et al. (2009a) as follows:

The abundance approach begins, first, by identifying the peak experiences of when the organization and its people have been at their best; second, by identifying and understanding the enablers of these optimal performances; third, by creating sustainable impact through seeing what of these enablers of optimal performance can be continued and replicated in the future; and fourth, designing interventions to create an ideal, desired future characterized by extraordinary performance.

The scope of the present thesis only covered the first and the second phase of the abundance approach: the identification of the government English translators' moments of utmost job satisfaction, or "peak experiences", and the determination of job resources, or "enablers", that constituted these experiences.⁹⁴ To achieve this, the government English translators were asked three questions with the precise aim of detecting information on the job resources associated with the moments of great job-related satisfaction:

- When have you experienced professional pride?
- What has been the most positive experience in your career?
- When do you find your job rewarding?

The respondents' descriptions of the reasons for their overall job satisfaction were also included in the analysis. In addition, attention was drawn to indications of job crafting and other parts of the interview data that seemed to bear direct relevance to the level of job satisfaction and the job resource categories. The examination of job resources starts with a numerical presentation to establish whether any of the job resource categories had a predominance over the other categories in the given data. The quantified analysis is followed by a qualitative content analysis.

⁹⁴ The third and fourth phases would require real-life interventions based on the subsequent findings.

6.2.1 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES

As explained earlier, there are four different kinds of job resource categories that relate to different dimensions of the work environment, complemented by the introduction of the category of personal resources (e.g. Bakker et al. 2003: 345; Hakanen 2009: 60; Hakanen 2011: 51–72; Schaufeli & Taris 2014: 48–51):

1. Task level
2. Organisation of work
3. Interpersonal and social relations
4. Organisation at large
5. Personal level

In the first phase of the analysis, each of the referred job resource was grouped under the most relevant resource category. Each response was categorised only once under the most fitting category. Due to data collection through interviews, the responses included references to any number of the categories and, similarly, the number of the references within each category varied between the respondents. In the second phase of the analysis, the identified job resources were examined in light of a more detailed description of the components of the job resource categories as provided, for example, by Hakanen (2009: 60; 2011: 49–72) and Schaufeli and Taris (2014: 64).

The result of the first categorisation indicates (Table 18) that, in terms of the number of mentions, the government English translators referred most often to job resources that relate to the task level, and second most often to interpersonal and social relations. Job resources concerning the organisation at large (=ministry) and the personal level also received more than ten mentions, while references to the general organisation of work gained only three mentions.

Table 18 *Distribution of responses based on the type of job resource*

Resources related to the	Number of mentions
task level	36
interpersonal and social relations	25
personal level	16
organisation at large	11
organisation of work	3
Total	91

When grouping the responses within each category on the basis of the four different question themes, the overall distribution was as follows (Table 19):

Table 19 *Distribution of responses based on the type of resource and theme of question*

Resources related to	Theme of question				Total
	Overall job satisfaction	Professional pride	Most positive experience	Work being rewarding	
task level	6	10	7	13	36
interpersonal and social relations	5	8	7	5	25
personal level	2	6	5	3	16
organisation at large	5	2	3	1	11
organisation of work	2	-	-	1	3
Total	20	26	22	23	91

Though not statistically significant (Chi Square with Yates' correction $p=0.894$), the distribution of answers between the job resource categories shows that task-related job resources were referred to in connection with each of the given question themes and attracted the two highest numbers of mentions in relation to sentiments of professional pride and rewarding work.

The same applies to job resources connected with interpersonal and social relations where the highest numbers of mentions concerned the sentiments of professional pride and most positive experiences. Job resources relating to the organisation at large and the personal level were also identified in relation to each question, although the number of mentions in each case was smaller than in case of the two previous job resource categories. Job resources relating to the organisation of work were identified in connection with the overall job satisfaction and moments of the work being rewarding only.

The number of the different individual respondents making reference to job resources in each job resource category varied but followed the order of the identified job resources as a whole. The distribution of the number of different respondents in each job resource category is presented in Table 20.

Table 20 *Number of different respondents in each job resource category*

Resources related to the	Number of respondents
task level	15
interpersonal and social relations	11
personal level	9
organisation at large	6
organisation of work	3

Similarly, the number of the different respondents in each job resource category also varied per question theme. The question on the rewarding moments of work attracted the biggest number of different respondents, twelve, whereas in connection with the same question, job resources relating

to the organisation of work and the organisation at large were only referred to by one respondent each. Also, the organisation of work did not attract any respondents in connection with questions on professional pride and most positive experiences. The other job resource categories gained between two to nine different respondents per question theme (Table 21).⁹⁵

Table 21 *Number of different respondents per question theme in each job resource category*

Resources related to	Number of different respondents per question theme			
	Overall job satisfaction	Professional pride	Most positive experience	Work being rewarding
task level	4	9	7	12
interpersonal and social relations	5	7	4	4
personal level	2	6	5	3
organisation at large	4	2	3	1
organisation of work	2	-	-	1
Total	17	24	19	21

It should also be acknowledged that, as a whole, the categorisation of the responses was not as clear-cut as presented in Tables 18–21. This is because, very often, the replies consisted of characteristics with pertinence to two, or even more, of the job resources categories. In addition, there were 18 comments that answered the given themes in such a manner that it was impossible to place them unequivocally under any of the given categories alone. Hence, the categorisations in the above Tables are based on the most prominent job resource characteristic only. To provide a more comprehensive picture of the multifaceted and intertwined character of the responses, they will be next discussed in light of the different job resource categories.

6.2.2 TYPES OF IDENTIFIED RESOURCES

In the responses which did not fit comfortably into any of the specific job resources categories, the respondents stated, for example, that they were satisfied because they liked the work, without specifying which aspects of the work it was that they liked. This corresponds with the general declarations of love to languages, discourses and words in Koskinen's study (2014: 80). Similarly, one respondent clearly referred to the organisation at large, but in no specific terms, and simply said: "I like the place". Also, instead of citing

⁹⁵ The total number of different individual respondents per job resource category in Table 21 does not correspond with the total number of different individual respondents per question theme in each job resource category in Table 22. This is because in Table 21 each different respondent accounts only once per job resource category whereas in Table 22 the same respondent can make part of each of the four different question themes in each job resource category.

examples of occasions when they had experienced professional pride, there were respondents who referred to the frequency of such feelings:⁹⁶

Oh well, professional pride. Well, almost every, if not every day then at least every week. (R2)

Every day, for God's sake! (R10)

In case of naming the most positive experience in the career, some respondents considered that such experiences consisted of a myriad of "small things" and, for that reason, it was impossible to put the finger on any specific issues or events, as in the following quotes:

It's not, it's more, I would like to say that it consists of smaller things. A sum of those smaller things. (R8)

It's impossible to say, quite impossible. There is so much of this positive mush that it's impossible to single anything out from there. (R10)

As regards the moments when the work provided satisfaction or gratification, a couple of respondents referred, again, to the frequency of such feelings and also said that, in their opinion, such moments were hard to single out as they consisted of several things at the same time:

So, I guess, yeah, it's these little things, a lot of it is these little things that you can't pinpoint any one specific thing. Maybe also just the fact that, I don't mind coming to work each day. ... This isn't maybe the job that I had in mind [all those] years ago, but I don't hate coming to work. And I think that's, maybe one way to know that your work is somehow rewarding. (R16)

Leaving these examples aside, the interviews provided abundant material for an analysis under each of the job resources category.

Task-level job resources

As indicated in Tables 18 and 19, the mentions of task-level job resources dominated the interview data. They also attracted the biggest number of different individual respondents. This is not entirely unexpected or surprising; partly because of nature of the given questions but also because, in many professions, it is precisely the task-level job resources that are key to work engagement and personal experiences of meaningfulness (Hakanen 2011: 52). Task-level job resources are understood to relate, for example, to the sense of having (Hakanen 2009, 2011; Schaufeli & Taris 2014):

⁹⁶ The wording of the question '*When have you experienced professional pride?*' allowed for such an interpretation as well.

- versatile and challenging tasks
- job control
- meaningful responsibilities
- possibilities for professional growth and development
- rewarding customer relations
- personal achievement (self-feedback)

In the interviews, the respondents spontaneously made reference to most of the subcategories. The sense of having meaningful responsibilities was something that the respondents considered to be of great significance in connection to all four question themes. At the same time, the biggest number of the mentioned task-related resources were given in response to the question on the moments of the work being rewarding.

Based on the responses, the *versatility and challenging nature of the tasks* was especially important to the sense of the work being rewarding. In this connection, the respondents underlined that this versatility and challenging nature was invariably intellectual and most often brought about by the constant effort of trying to understand the message that the author of the original text was trying to communicate – to be then able express it clearly and logically in another language added to the experienced sense of intellectual achievement. The reward seems to stem from the feeling of being involved in a process of deciphering and recoding, characterised by occasional “Eureka moments”. Chesterman (2006: 19) refers to this as “the translator’s “ahaa!” experience” resulting from being able to resolve a tricky bit of the translation.

It’s when [laughs] you’re able to do something that you don’t understand yourself and you manage to turn it into something comprehensible. Sometimes I’m amazed by the fact that I had the energy to do that because sometimes they are so difficult; so hard really. That you should have energy to think all the time. (R6)

In this work, you must get your kicks from really small things. From that you try to resolve a problem or some really difficult translation and make it usually better than the original. ... But it is really satisfying to be able produce, to be able to come up with an apt text of something that was originally not so apt. (R7)

It’s when you find some good [solutions] or when something becomes crystal clear; that this is how it is! These Eureka moments [laughs]. You do get them sometimes! (R9)

One respondent called attention to the wide range of issues included in the ministry’s mandate which increased the level of challenges to the translators as well. This subcategory also compares with Dam’s and Zethsen’s (2016: 180) themes of translation being “varied, stimulating and never boring” and “an intellectual and creative challenge”. In Koskinen study, the same idea was conveyed in love letters addressed to the joy of discovering and learning (2014:

81). As one of the government English translators said it was the challenge of “having hard nuts to crack” that accounted among the most positive experiences at work.

Job control as an independent topic was referred to by two respondents only. Still, it can be argued that the very idea of self-reliant work is inherent in the above quotes as well since, in all of them, the respondents refer to independent decisions and achievements as regards the act of translating. There was also this suggestion of being free to organise and affect the quality of one’s own work in an independent manner. This resonates with the results of the questionnaire study which indicated that, in terms of the different aspects concerning their work, the government translators perceive that they could best influence the quality of the final translation. In her study examining the Swedish translators’ everyday working conditions in Finland, Jannika Lassus (2014, 230) had also discovered that translators working within the public sector considered themselves better positioned to influence, for example, word choices than translators working as freelancers. Similarly, when asked in a separate question about the responsibility for the ministry’s translation service as a whole, all the respondents considered themselves to be personally responsible for the quality of the service. The following quote conveys this idea of having translation as one’s own professional territory in the ministry:

There must be a tiny drop of, I mean that I like that I have an area of responsibility of my own. That I manage it independently and that I may do things within that area just the way I want. (R12)

The sense of having *meaningful responsibilities* was a decisive factor in terms of job satisfaction and all three peak experiences. In Dam’s and Zethsen’s study the same idea was summarised in the theme of translation being “important and therefore meaningful” (Dam & Zethsen 2016: 180). In the present study, meaningfulness was associated with two different aspects of the work. First, there were respondents who stated that their job satisfaction was supported by the fact that the ministry of their employment represented and promoted issues that were important and meaningful to them personally. Second, there were respondents who took professional pride in being able to contribute to issues and/or events with national and international impact – they referred to a feeling of being a useful “part of a bigger whole” or “a cog in the huge machine”. The same sense of purposeful involvement was also mentioned in relation to the most positive experiences and rewarding moments of work. In this connection, the respondents mentioned, for example, Finland’s Presidencies of the Council of the European Union, meetings between the heads of state or government, and Finland’s obligations under international law, as summarised in the following quotes:

I must be a bit strange to say this aloud, but I still feel that the Presidencies have probably been such, that then you've done something really meaningful. (R3)

The fact that you can see yourself as part of the bigger whole. And even if it's impacting at a very small scale, but still you are there as part of the process. (R8)

I fulfil my place among the humankind, in the universe. That they [=translations] serve a practical purpose and are not translated just for the sake of it. That they genuinely advance matters here and there. (R10)

The possibilities that translation offered for *professional growth and development* were also mentioned. One respondent described that it was one of the profession's definite bonuses that it required continuous learning and thus provided a constant flow of new sources of inspiration. Another respondent said that having an opportunity to learn more about the language and its proper usage never failed to send "shivers down the spine".

Another important task-related job resource mentioned by almost one third of the respondents was the sense of *personal achievement*; of having brought something to a successful conclusion. It was referred to, particularly, in connection with the feelings of professional pride. Some respondents explained that it was important to acknowledge personal achievements "with a pat on the back" and take pride in them because immediate feedback from, for example, superiors was rare.

Sometimes I say to myself: "God, I'm good!" (R5)

For me the most important thing is that I know I've done a good job and that it meets the quality requirements that I've set to it. And that's pretty high! (R13)

Naturally, these responses also have something to do with feelings of professional competence which is discussed in connection with the respondents' personal resources.

The identified task-related resources coincide with some of the most important sources of task satisfaction and job satisfaction reported in Rodríguez-Castro's study (2016: 223–224). According to Rodríguez-Castro (*ibid.*), the facet of task satisfaction was promoted by "a successful completion of projects, ability to perform a wide variety of tasks, and intrinsic pride in their work". Task satisfaction was also prompted by opportunities to resolve terminological and other challenging tasks. Autonomy was considered as a factor supporting the facet of job satisfaction. Similarly, the results of the study by Courtney and Phelan (2019: 110) showed that the sources of job satisfaction included task-related resources: "job autonomy and the art of translation itself".

Interpersonal and social job resources

Job resources relating to interpersonal and social relations are manifested in everyday contacts and encounters at the workplace – in the way how people treat and react to each other; how people speak to and about each other; and how people listen to and respect each other. According to Hakanen (2011: 56), these are the kinds of resources which typically do not impose costs to the employer, but which, at the same time, are key to the workplace atmosphere. This is, perhaps, what one of the respondents was implicitly referring to when she said that she did not hate coming to work. All in all, the interpersonal and social relations occupied a prominent role in the government English translators' peak experiences.

Support from colleagues was mentioned in relation to each peak experience theme and most respondents stressed that collegial cooperation of some kind was of utmost importance to their job satisfaction. The same applies to Koskinen's study where a number of love letters were written in praise of colleagues and other parties to the translation process (2014: 80). In the interviews, the government translators explained collegial support as having someone with whom to discuss translation-related problems and to share the moments of professional success and despair. Very often this role was fulfilled by another translator and, in the same connection, a couple of respondents made reference to a feeling of not being necessarily quite understood by the ministry's other employees:

Earlier, I just sat there in my tiny little office and thought about these things. It nearly blew my head off, but I couldn't speak with anyone. Or if I did, they were like "can't you just do it?" Now, that I have someone to be happy or sad with, it really means a lot. And then this help in revising and terminology; I mean this is heaven. (R9)

A few respondents said that the Language Specialists' Network also served a collegial role and some respondents attached equal importance to working together and having face-to-face contacts with the ministry's other employees and translation commissioners. Nordman's study (2009: 268-269) on legal translation into Swedish in Finland supports the findings that translators working in an institutional setting attach particular importance to opportunities for teamwork and professional cooperation.

Opportunities for strictly professional sharing or support from the management were not mentioned but that, again, was not surprising given the fact that there were only two respondents whose superiors were also language specialists.

When someone first just asks something to be handled electronically and then understands that it's more efficient when meeting face-to-face. Then that's really satisfying. ... It's precisely there that the expertise gets valued ... It's this working together with the commissioners that I find very rewarding. (R6)

These events and such organised in connection with the translators' network, they have also been great. (R13)

Appreciation and positive feedback play central roles in interpersonal workplace relations. Therefore, it is encouraging to notice that, in connection with professional pride and most positive and rewarding work experiences, almost all the respondents provided examples of having been personally acknowledged and thanked for a job well done. One of the respondents summarised this sentiment very nicely by saying that it felt good to be thanked for providing the service, but that it felt even better if the person was actually able to say something constructive about the translation's quality. In addition, a couple of respondents said that they took professional pride not only in receiving positive feedback but also in having managed to establish and uphold a certain reputation as a guarantee of a good-quality work. Such feelings related to the sense of being trusted. All this correlates with the respondents' earlier accounts of factors that contributed to their perception of high workplace status, too.

And then this secretary came and said that, oh my, I only hear positive things about you. ... It comes down to of being trusted, of being sufficiently good. (R8)

One respondent told that, in addition to receiving thanks, she was occasionally invited to attend the events for which she had provided translations and considered that as a sign professional appreciation and recognition. Another respondent related an occasion of professional appreciation when the ministry's permanent secretary had invited her to give an address on language matters at a seminar organised by a parliamentary subcommittee.

When they published the Action Plan at the House of the Estates and invited me to participate in the event. That they've taken into account that this person has also been part of this process. (R6)

According to Hakanen (2011: 60–61), *teams and possibilities to work in a team* are also an integral part of interpersonal and social job resources. The fact that the ministries typically employed only one or two English translators was plainly reflected in the replies as none of the respondents drew particular attention to regular and organised teamwork. Cooperation with translation commissioners was important but not considered teamwork as such. There was, however, one respondent who mentioned that the English translators' own-initiative decision to harmonise the translation of the 2011 Government Programme across the ministries was an example of a concerted team effort which she considered to be both highly productive and personally very motivating. The most positive experiences also included a mention of interministerial terminology projects as an example of "doing something together".

Rodríguez-Castro (2016: 224) had also come to the conclusion that feedback and contacts with team members and commissioners served as factors enhancing the facet of job satisfaction.

Personal resources

The third most often mentioned category of resources – the personal resources – has significance in two ways: personal resources affect the way employees react to their work and workplace situations and, in the same way, the high presence of job resources seems to foster and strengthen personal resources. (Bakker & Demerouti 2007: 323; Hakanen 2009: 71–72)

In this thesis, the concept of personal resources is to be understood in the following sense (van den Heuvel, M. et al. 2010: 129):

Personal resources are ...; developable systems of positive beliefs about one's "self" (e.g. self-esteem, self-efficacy, mastery) and the world (e.g. optimism, faith) which motivate and facilitate goal-attainment, even in the face of adversity or challenge.

Most of the personal resources referred to by the government English translators related to the sense of *mastery* and it was mentioned in connection with each of the question themes. In Koskinen's study, some of the love letters were also addressing the translators' own skills and mastery (2014: 80). It indicates that, in line with the results regarding government translators' perceptions of their level of expertise, translators recognise and give considerable weight to their professional competence. As the examples show, the responses contained elements of good *self-esteem* and *ability to recognise one's personal task-level achievements*, too:

It's that you get to use all your skills, the full works, with all the trimmings. This job allows you to make full use of your potential as a translator. (R9)

Because I'm competent in my job. (R10)

So even if you don't get, yourself feedback, when I look at it and look it compared to the beginning then I think that oh, I did okay. (R16)

This sentiment was reflected also in the results of the 2014 *Kaikki hyvin työssä* survey where 74% of the state employees were of the opinion that they had opportunities to make use of their experience and skills at work. There was also a response with relevance to the idea of *persistence* when one of the respondents remarked that even though it took time and strenuous effort to find the best translation solutions, it was just something that had to be accepted as part of the job.

Optimism was not spontaneously introduced by any of the respondents but when specifically asked about their future prospects as government translators, many of the respondents were optimistic in a sense that, in their

opinion, the need for translations was not likely to disappear; rather the opposite, and one of the respondents forecast that in the future there might also be an increasing need for other languages than just Swedish, English and Russian. As a whole, the government English translators expressed cautious optimism about the future prospects of in-house translation within the government. Serious reservations were voiced about two issues in particular: the outsourcing of translation services and the envisaged restructuring of the translation services. Most respondents considered that these were development trends which could not be entirely avoided but which could, at least to some extent, be affected – the first through issues relating to quality assessment and domain specific translation competence, and the second through keen participation in the proactive efforts of the Government Language Specialists Network and own action within the ministry of employment. This indicates that the respondents attributed importance to their own opportunities to influence the job. The general feeling was that of subdued optimism and some respondents were also able to express *hope* in the future:

I don't believe that translators can affect whether it [= the restructuring] will take place or not. If it comes, then it comes. But I believe that translators can have a lot of influence on the way it will be organised, in the end. (R2)

I'm of course happy that they notice in the ministries that you can't get quality with cheap prices. So, in this sense I think we can have confidence in the future. (R3)

In this context, it is interesting to notice that although a majority of the respondents emphasised that they would have preferred to continue with the decentralised arrangement of translation services, they were still able to react rather openly and constructively to the probable changes ahead. Perhaps this resilience stemmed from the feeling of a relatively high job security – the respondents were rather confident in that the changes relating to the possible restructuring were not likely to result in the termination of their employment relationship. This suggests that the translators were slightly more optimistic than state employees in Finland in general as the result of the 2014 *Kaikki hyvin työssä* survey indicates that only 63% of state employees estimated the level of their job security fairly or very good (mean 3.71), and the proportion of confident employees was at its lowest level since the beginning of the 2000s. It can be argued that the translators' relative confidence in their job security was likely to have enhanced their ability and readiness to adapt and regard the forthcoming changes as challenging job demands rather than inevitable evils.

Job resources relating to the organisation at large

Job resources relating to the organisation at large concern issues that, as a main rule, fall within the responsibility of the organisation's management and

human resources administration. When successfully planned and implemented, job resources relating to the organisation at large typically manifest themselves in an overall sense of smooth, relaxed and motivating workplace atmosphere and practices. This is because job resources located at the level of the organisation at large concern issues that relate to the (Hakanen 2009, 2011; Schaufeli & Taris 2014):

- organisation's support to and inclusion of its employees
- recruitment, induction and training of new employees
- annual performance appraisal talks
- pay system and performance bonuses
- family-friendly workplace culture
- technology
- job security, career prospects and psychological security
- occupational safety and health practices across the organisation

Based on the interviews, the government English translators' positive workplace emotions and experiences encompassed job resources relating to level of the organisation at large as well. There were a half a dozen mentions associated with the sense of *job security* in which the respondents expressed their contentment for having relatively secure and stable employment and career prospects. Although research suggests little relationship between the level of income and job satisfaction (Spector 1997: 42; Judge et al. 2010: 162), a couple of respondents underlined the importance of income security and the ensuing future pension.

This security is of course also extremely important for me. And probably this certain backup, or that you know that your back is covered. (R8)

I've managed to support myself and my children with this, and I'll get a modest pension. (R11)

Performance bonuses as such were not mentioned but one of the respondents said that she took professional pride in having been conferred the decorations of the Order of the Lion of Finland by the President of the Republic for having distinguished herself in the service of Finland.⁹⁷ This indicates that, in addition to the pay, other concrete and traditional signs of professional recognition, or 'bonuses', were meaningful even when they did not result in financial gain.

Technology was another factor that was mentioned only once as one respondent said that having access to proper translation tools in the ministry was truly important to her job satisfaction. The lack of mentions to technology is interesting because eleven of the sixteen English translators had access to,

⁹⁷ The criterion for award according to *A Guide to the Orders and Decorations of Finland*. Retrieved 7 Feb. 2018 from www.ritarikunnat.fi/images/flipbook/book/mobile/index.html#p=3.

for example, translation memory tools at the time of data collection in 2013.⁹⁸ On the other hand, there were three respondents who drew attention to the fact that in technical problems concerning the translation tools the government translators received very little help and support from the ministry's IT staff and were left to manage on their own. In Koskinen's study, love letters to information technology and digital tools dominated the data (2014: 81). It was, however, mainly due to the given instructions where the translators were invited to write a letter to their most important and dearest translation tool, or vice versa; and only explicitly to any other endearing or infuriating aspect of the work. In her master's thesis on the government translators' emotions relating to translator-computer interaction, Pikkarainen (2017) suggests that the government translators do not oppose to technology as such; it is only when technology fails or is cumbersome to use that the feelings of dissatisfaction and dislike begin to surface.

In the present study, one respondent made reference to *support from the organisation* in connection with the feelings of professional pride. As an example of this, the respondent told about the positive reaction she had received when contacting the ministry's highest public official to invite him to deliver a speech at a seminar organised by the Government Language Specialists' Network. The feeling of an *overall positive organisational atmosphere* was echoed in two responses:

On the personal level, the feeling of good personal chemistries at the moment, it has had immense impact on the quality of life in general. (R8)

It's sort of having this good feeling of having found my place. (R7)

Perhaps the few comments recited at the beginning of this Chapter, in which the respondents simply said that they liked their work and that it was something they enjoyed doing, also referred to a certain feeling of overall workplace wellbeing and occupational balance. When asked directly, all the respondents were able to describe examples of organised effort undertaken by the ministries to enhance and support wellbeing and at work; furthermore, nearly all the respondents reported active participation in activities geared towards increasing wellbeing at work. It suggests that the government English translators saw benefit and value for themselves in the organisation's measures aimed at supporting workplace wellbeing.

Job resources relating to the organisation of work

Job resources relating to the organisation of work include, for example, a clear division of responsibilities and roles, possibilities to influence and participate in decisions affecting one's own work, and availability of flexi hours and other

⁹⁸ A fact confirmed via a separate email to the interview respondents.

flexible work arrangements. In the interviews, only two respondents referred to job resources that fall within this category.

The respondent who mentioned *clear roles and responsibilities* said that it was “rewarding to be allowed to do precisely the kind of work that one had in mind when taking up the employment”. She emphasised that it was important to be identified with a definite field of responsibility within the ministry. This, again, supports the findings of Rodríguez-Castro’s study (2016: 223) where translators’ task satisfaction was enhanced by “understanding of task scope, clarity of task description, and tasks related to their specialization”.

One of the respondents in the present study made reference to *flexible work arrangements* and stated that without possibilities for distance work, her level of job satisfaction would have suffered dramatically and be likely to result in increased levels of stress. In Rodríguez-Castro’s study (2016: 224) distance work and possibilities for reconciling work and family life were also categorised as sources of job satisfaction. In this connection, it is, however, interesting to notice that, in Finland, almost all the ministries offered opportunities for distance work but only five respondents used or had used the opportunity to do so.

The lack of mentions relating to *possibilities to influence and participate in decisions affecting one’s own work* is not entirely surprising given that, on the basis of the questionnaire data, too, the government translators considered that they could best influence the quality of their own work and have some say also with regard to deadlines and working hours. At the same time, as in-house translators with a public-service employment relationship, they considered themselves to be quite powerless in the face of the kind of texts they translated, the quality of the source text, and the clientele. On the other hand, given the strong evidence of task-level job resources, it is rather surprising that the respondents did not make any connections between the two issues. Perhaps they considered that it was a question of having personally taken opportunities to influence their own work rather than having been given opportunities by the organisation to do so. Or perhaps, the opportunities for affecting one’s work had become a self-evident and established fact of the organisation of work and did not attract attention for that reason. In the light of the 2014 *Kaikki hyvin työssä* survey, the Finnish state employees in general rated their possibilities to affect the aspects of their work rather low (mean 2.78).

In Koskinen’s study, translators also addressed love letters to the working conditions and the physical work environment (2014: 80). The government English translators made no such references although, in another part of the interview, almost all of them thanked the importance that the ministries attached to the physical workplace ergonomics.

6.2.3 JOB RESOURCES AND THE LEVEL OF JOB SATISFACTION

An examination of the acknowledged job resources in terms of the respondents’ level of job satisfaction showed that both the biggest number (11)

and the smallest number (3) of job resources per individual respondent were mentioned by respondents who rated the level of their job satisfaction very good. The satisfied respondents referred to between five and eight job resources each and the fairly satisfied respondents mentioned between four and seven job resources. The overall distribution of the job resources based on the respondents' level of job satisfaction is presented in Table 22:

Table 22 *Job resources vs. the level of job satisfaction*

Resources related to	Level of job satisfaction		
	Very satisfied (n=6)	Satisfied (n=5)	Fairly satisfied (n=4)
task level	15	14	7
interpersonal and social relations	13	6	6
personal level	3	10	3
organisation at large	5	3	3
organisation of work	1	-	2
Total	38	32	21

The distribution indicates that most of the task-level job resources (81%) were mentioned by the very satisfied and satisfied respondents whereas that the biggest share of the personal level resources (63%) were referred to by the satisfied respondents. However, as a whole, Table 22 demonstrates that the distribution of the acknowledged job resources was not dependent on the respondents' level of reported job satisfaction because the relative share of job resources corresponds to a high degree with the relative share of respondents in each of the job satisfaction categories (Yates' $p=0.590$). On the other hand, this is not very surprising given the fact that all the respondents expressed a certain level job satisfaction, and none were dissatisfied with their job. Therefore, it would be interesting to see whether the distribution would be different among a more heterogeneous respondent group.

In her study, Hubscher-Davidson (2018: 195, 220) suggested that, since job satisfaction correlated positively with variables that are equal to job resources (such as optimism, self-motivation, self-esteem and adaptability), job satisfaction might be linked to translators' emotional intelligence (EI). The finding is supported by Miao et al. (2017: 286) who in their meta-analysis of emotional intelligence effects on job satisfaction mediated by job resources also concluded that trait EI, characterised, for example, by the ability to identify and manage one's emotions, resulted in more job resources and, consequently, contributed positively to job satisfaction. However, in both studies, it was impossible to say anything definite about the directionality between trait EI and job satisfaction or, indeed, whether any kind of causality could be established between the phenomena. It is also worth noting that although Hubscher-Davidson (2018: 196–198) underlined the linkage

between EI and the translators' age and experience, Miao et al. (2017: 286) had come to the conclusion that, in general, age and tenure did not have significant influence on the relationship between EI and job satisfaction. In the present thesis, where no attention was devoted to the examination of the respondents' trait EI, it can only be said that no correlation could be established between government English translators' age or experience and the job resources contributing to the level of self-expressed job satisfaction.

6.3 GOVERNMENT ENGLISH TRANSLATORS AS JOB CRAFTERS

6.3.1 JOB DESCRIPTIONS IN LIGHT OF JOB CRAFTING

Since the job resources related to the task level dominated the interview data (40% of responses), it is worth having a closer look at the respondents' personal accounts of the responsibilities in light of their formal job descriptions. Twelve out of the sixteen interviewees provided a copy of their job description⁹⁹, representing eight out of the ten ministries employing English translators. The provided job description sheets differed in their design and content, but they all included a mention of the job's area of responsibility and its main duties. In six cases, the general description of the main area of responsibility was stated merely as "translation" or "translation work"; the other six job description sheets provided a more detailed outbreak of the responsibilities already in the general description. Each of the twelve sheets contained a listing of the job's main duties and the following three tasks were mentioned in all of them:

- translations into English
- revision
- provision of language advice

In addition, the job descriptions included duties relating to the overall management and coordination of the ministry's translation services and related guidelines; terminology work; translations into Finnish; proofreading; editing; outsourcing and related budgeting and quality assessment; maintenance and updating of translation memories and/or term banks; proposals for the acquisition of language technology tools and related training; stakeholder cooperation and networking (particularly within the Government Language Specialists' Network); marketing and provision of information about the translation service and acquisition of interpretation services;

⁹⁹ According to the Finnish Government Termbank Valter, a '*job description*' is a written account of the purpose, objectives and content of a person's public office or set of duties and it provides a means to assess the level of the job's complexity in relation to the ministry's pay system. Retrieved 19 Feb. 2018 from <https://mot.kielikone.fi/mot/valter/netmot.exe?UI=en80>.

promotion of good administrative language; upkeep of records and translation statistics; and participation in the ministry's on-call duties. However, it should be noticed that not any single job description made reference to all of these duties: the most concise of the job descriptions consisted of five different tasks and the most detailed job descriptions listed twelve different tasks. This would seem to indicate that the duties officially assigned to the English translators in the different ministries varied to a great extent in their scope and content.

The respondent with the most concise job description provides an interesting case for a more detailed examination. According to the formal job description, the main duties consisted of (1) translations from Finnish into English, (2) revision of texts written in English, (3) translations from English into Finnish, (4) provision of advice in matters relating to the usage of English, and (5) networking.¹⁰⁰ According to the respondent's own account, the responsibilities included (1) translations into English, (2) revision, (3) proofreading and editing of source texts, (4) co-editing of English texts with the writers, (5) terminology work with other translators and/or public officials, (6) marketing of available language-related tools and terminology lists, (7) translation cooperation with Swedish translators, (8) own-initiative participation in processes/projects/meetings that produced material to be later translated, (9) organisation of language-related events, (10) secretarial tasks, (11) IT-related tasks, and (12) keeping of records of own activities and future proposals for the management.

This suggests that there is a considerable mismatch between the respondent's official job description and her personal account of the day-to-day duties. Some of this mismatch can be attributed to the fact that the respondent's superior was not a language specialist and, therefore, likely to understand 'translation' in a very general and technical sense whereas the respondent herself was better able to make a distinction between the different acts that typically make part of a translation process (e.g. terminology work and cooperation with commissioners and/or other translators).

However, at the same time, it is interesting to notice that the respondent was acutely aware of the existing mismatch between the job description and her daily work as she repeatedly emphasised that most of the described duties were undertaken on her own initiative. She also recognised the informal nature of some of her activities as she, for example, referred to her gaining access to the meetings as "having managed to infiltrate" herself into the processes. The respondent's argument for taking on the 'extra' duties was that they improved her possibilities to produce good-quality translations and also provided the ministry with a better and more wide-ranging translation service than stipulated in the job description – the respondent was of the opinion that the ministry was "not making the most of its translators' expertise". The respondent also stated that the ministry's process for the drawing up of job descriptions was rather uncoordinated and for that reason the resulting job

¹⁰⁰ In the job description proper, parts (4) and (5) were grouped together but, as they refer to two distinctly different duties, they merit separate entries in the present study.

descriptions were often very general; this, in her opinion, not only allowed but also called for an independent redesigning of the responsibilities. It should also be noticed that although the boundaries of the work content had become fuzzy, the mismatch had not led to a hybrid job characterised by duties and roles irrelevant to the translation process (Kuznik 2016).

In terms of job crafting, it is evident that the respondent had redesigned the boundaries of her job quite extensively as regards both the task-level resources (e.g. editing of source texts, organisation of language-related events) and social resources (e.g. co-editing and participation in meetings). It can also be argued that she had changed the way of thinking about the job and considered herself capable of providing the ministry with a wider range of language related expert services than just those included in the formal job description. As stated by the respondent herself, her job crafting was sparked by the perceived opportunity and need to shape the job due to the lack of monitoring or supervision by management. Based on the respondent's account, it can be argued that, in addition to enhancing the respondent's job resources, in this case, job crafting was most likely to have benefited the organisation, too, since by extending the boundaries of her job responsibilities, the respondent had ended up providing the ministry with a broad spectrum of language services and expertise.

An examination of the respondents' accounts of their responsibilities against the formal job descriptions reveals that *job crafting through changing tasks* was rather common among the government English translators. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that job crafting is an individual level and situationally dependent activity which varies according to personal preferences and different contexts. Consequently, not all the respondents had engaged in equally extensive job crafting as described in the example above but there was a general tendency – to a greater or lesser extent – to mould the job by taking on new tasks, to emphasise certain parts of the job by assigning more time, effort and attention to them, and/or to redesign the tasks to achieve a better person-job fit. In terms of task-level job crafting, the extreme end was represented by respondents who said that they had either personally drawn up the job description or significantly influenced its contents. However, not all the differences between the assigned job descriptions and the respondents' experiences can be attributed to deliberate efforts of job crafting and be accounted as job resources: some tasks were imposed on the translators due to the ministry's administrative organisation or apparent understaffing (e.g. administrative tasks and IT-related tasks).

It is also evident that the respondents had also made effort to *build and change relationships* both within and outside the organisation. They had sought and provided collegial support, initiated and maintained contacts with translation commissioners, participated in the activities of the Government Language Specialists' Network, and actively seized opportunities for professional networking. In other words, the abundance of interpersonal and social level job resources can, at least in part, be attributed to the respondents'

self-initiated action. This, again, was made possible by the rather vague reference to “cooperation” and “networking” in the job descriptions. Moreover, the respondents’ accounts of their peak moments indicate that they were also able to *change their perceptions* of the job and its meaningfulness by placing their work in a wider context. The translators’ aim was not only to produce good translations but also help the ministry promote or achieve something significant with the means of the translations and translators’ expertise as a whole.

To finish the discussion on the respondents’ job crafting, it is important to bear in mind and make a distinction between the action that the ministries anticipated from their translators and the action that the respondents might have considered self-evident to the success of their work. Consequently, some of the aspects which people outside the profession would be quick to label as job crafting, may consist of elements that the respondents simply considered inseparable features of professional translation processes. For that reason, translators would not be likely to count, for example, active contacts with commissioners or the seeking of feedback as evidences of deliberate job crafting but just normal parts of their everyday work. Unfortunately, based on the respondents’ accounts, these translators’ ‘self-evidents’ were not always considered as such and, hence, required extra effort and energy.

In terms of job satisfaction, it is impossible to suggest strong, unequivocal connections between the respondents’ level of job satisfaction and described efforts of job crafting. This, again, may result from the fact that the differences between the expressed levels of job satisfaction were not dramatic since all the respondents were at least fairly satisfied with their job. It follows that the analysis could not be extended to the other end of the continuum and reach any dissatisfied respondents. It is also impossible to determine whether it was the sense of job satisfaction that had encouraged job crafting or whether it was job crafting that had enhanced the respondents’ level of job satisfaction; or indeed whether the two issues were mutually reinforcing in nature.

6.3.2 JOB CRAFTING AND WORKPLACE STATUS

Appreciation is an integral element of good interpersonal and social job resources (Hakanen 2011: 59; Schaufeli & Taris 2014: 64) and it occupied a prominent role in the respondents’ replies, too. It is also a fundamental element of the respondents’ workplace status.¹⁰¹

The questionnaire asked the respondents to name efforts that they had personally taken to improve translator status in general (Annex VI). Twenty-four government translators reported such measures and when categorised on the basis of the status parameters, the result shows that the efforts mainly related to visibility and education/expertise (Figure 10).

¹⁰¹ As indicated earlier in this thesis, the Finnish equivalent of ‘*occupational status*’ has very strong connotations with the ideas of ‘*occupational value*’ and ‘*occupational appreciation*’.

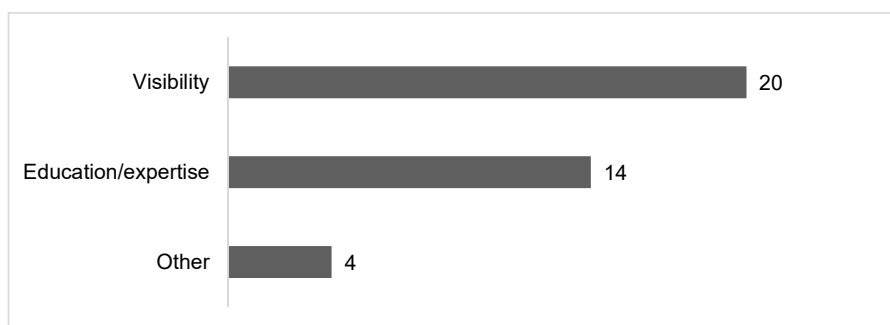


Figure 10 Own efforts to improve translator status

A closer look at the quoted measures revealed that the categorisation of the results was not always clear-cut, since some of the reported measures shared the characteristics of both education/expertise and visibility. As a result, efforts to increase the visibility of the required education/expertise also seemed to constitute an important element of the translators' own action to improve translator status. The measures grouped under 'other' consisted efforts to establish contacts with colleagues, commissioners and experts from other fields which, as such, could also be interpreted as steps to improve visibility.

In addition to listing their own efforts, the respondents were asked to consider which of the measures had been most effective. Eight respondents answered the question and, based on their responses, efforts to promote visibility and education/expertise had proven equally effective. One respondent also mentioned that "the level of income has probably made an impression on people" – unfortunately, the respondent did not mention whether he or she had taken active measures to attain the level of income in question.

In the interviews, the English translators were also asked what they had personally done to enhance the appreciation of their own job in the ministry – in other words, to craft their workplace status. The interview responses can be categorised under four main themes: action related to (1) establishing and maintaining contacts and cooperation that are based on mutual trust, (2) guaranteeing and improving the quality of the respondents' own work, (3) increasing translators' visibility in the ministry, and (4) upholding or improving one's rightful position in the ministry.

Six respondents told about measures that fall within the first category and they emphasised the importance of keeping the promises made to the commissioners, whether they regarded the deadline, agreed terminology, or any other issue, regardless of the commissioner's position in the ministry. This also applied to situations when the translators had to refuse a request based

on earlier commitments. The unwritten rule seemed to be that the insistence on equality was only compromised in case of translation requests from the ministry's top management or to allow rapid response to unforeseen urgent situations. The English translators also considered it highly effective to be proactive and seek opportunities for discussion and cooperation with the commissioners to better understand what they needed and, in the same connection, to publicise the translators' expertise. Participation in coffee table discussions and the ministry's wellbeing activities was favoured, too, as they provided opportunities for informal networking and information sharing. All in all, the English translators seemed to find the ability to maintain active and frank contacts with the commissioners very important for a good translator status – a reputation as a reliable, responsive and resourceful colleague was clearly considered as one of the key elements of enhanced translator status. In terms of job crafting, the respondents had made effort to redesign their workplace relationships: instead of merely fulfilling their tasks, they had sought active contact with the commissioners and other public officials and built mutually benefitting relationships with them. This is likely to have enhanced their interpersonal and social workplace relations.

I would say that it's perhaps this being active in that you don't just translate texts but you also, for example, take contact with these people and show in some discussions that you know even more about the issue. So, in that you must be bold and give, stick your neck out and trust that you know enough. ... But it all starts with contacts. You take the courage to go to someone's office. Also to that of the head of unit or department. (R8)

I think that how you communicate with the commissioners. It probably affects quite a bit that you try to be like open and friendly, and even keep the door ajar; even a concrete thing like that. Not always be behind shut doors and that you are part of this. And coffee table discussions have in our unit been taken up a few times over the past year. That some people have proposed that coffee table culture should be increased. I think it's quite important that in a workplace there is a place where people can sit around the same table. That even if you talk about other issues there, you always touch on work-related issues in a way, too. (R12)

The measures in the second category mainly relate to the English translators' belief that by doing their work well and by paying particular attention to quality, they enhanced both their translator status and position as competent experts with specialised skills in the ministry. The efforts to improve quality were not restricted to translations only but included action to provide the ministry's other employees with self-help tools and resources to facilitate the drafting of texts, both in Finnish and in English. Such tools included terminology lists, models for composing invitations and letters, and general advice on language issues. A couple of respondents emphasised that to maintain quality, it was imperative that the translators participated in training and sought other ways to improve their expertise, too. It was also considered

important to acknowledge that it was not enough to maintain and develop linguistic skills, but that it was equally important to increase general understanding of the issues within the ministry's mandate. Again, in terms of job crafting, this indicates efforts to affect the status through adding and moulding tasks but also through expanding one's perceptions of the purpose of the job. These efforts are likely to have manifested in increased possibilities for task-level versatility and professional development and in enhanced social job resources – aspects likely to have boosted the sense of mastery, too.

And then, of course, I've collected many kinds of term issues and tried to make some of them available to others as well. I've offered people term lists that relate to their business, that they can use what I've put together while doing my work. (R6)

And just, well, doing good work so people will come back and recognise the value of it. Can't think of really - anything else other than doing my work into the best of my ability and trying to improve my skills, so that I keep improving and increasing my - knowledge and understanding of, [the ministry's] terminology and [ministry's] issues even if I'm not with the -- individual issues I still try to follow, [related] stories. (R16)

The third category includes efforts to improve visibility and general awareness by providing information about the ministry's translation services. The respondents seemed to be of the opinion that accurate and well-presented information about the translation service supported an image of an expert function and, consequently, they told about active efforts to achieve this kind of visibility, for example, on the ministry's intranet. In the same connection, however, they admitted that visibility could not be assured through information dissemination only, but that it also required personal contacts and willingness, or even a certain resolve, to tell "what the translation service is and does" over and over again.

I've tried to educate especially my own superior ... and then I've tried in our ministry to tell what this is and what our work requires and what it takes to translate. I think it's perhaps like continuous. And of course, all these instructions and procedures that you try, perhaps them. But it's probably more like each commissioner at a time, it's quite likely like that. (R3)

Due to the small number of translators per ministry, the respondents considered that this kind of instructing should form part of the duties of every translator, or as one respondent expressed it: "The [teacher's] role is there, and it must be accepted and not be ruled out from the very beginning". In the same connection, a few translators told that they had started to collect feedback systematically and five respondents said that they also kept regular statistics of their translation assignments and other work to better illustrate the quality and quantity of their work in the annual performance appraisal talks with the superior. The reported activities indicate that the respondents

considered that the enhancement of their occupational visibility could be crafted by taking on new tasks (e.g. information dissemination and maintenance of statistics) and by increasing workplace contacts.

The fourth category relates to two kinds of issues in connection of which the respondents had taken action not to promote the translation service itself, but to advance or defend their own position in the ministry. The first related to the English translators' pay and six respondents told of efforts to raise the pay grade based on the feedback and the demands of the work. In most cases, the attempt had not, however, been successful because the superior was not willing to take the matter further for one reason or another, or because not all the translators in the ministry had taken an equally active stance in the matter.

The second case related to a situation in which a ministry's translators had been told to give up their offices for some other employees higher up in the ministry's hierarchy. The English translator told that she had not accepted the situation because, as a result, the translators would have ended up in a shared office completely unsuitable for their work, both in terms of space and location in the ministry. The respondent's arguments, based on the ministry's core values which included the equal esteem of all the employees, had resolved the situation in favour of the translators. The respondent told that, in a sense, the unpleasant incident had served to consolidate the translators' workplace status and standing as experts with an equal voice and position in the ministry. It can be concluded that the fourth category of efforts to craft translator status had targeted job resources relating to the organisation at large.

Well, I took a very firm stand. That I took this issue -- through the head shop steward to the permanent secretary. And then I talked about these - these ministry's values which include esteem. (R14)

Based on the responses, it seems that the English translators are somewhat modest in their descriptions of the status enhancing activities, and do not always recognise, for example, their efforts to improve source texts as measures that could impact their workplace status. This might be because often the measures that help promote translator status are practically side products of everyday action, and the respondents referred to this by saying that occupational appreciation was something that could only be achieved and cultivated gradually through personal contacts and cooperation. The emphasis on personal contacts was understandable since thirteen of the sixteen respondents had worked in a ministry for eleven years or more and, consequently, saw themselves as part of the ministry's permanent fixture with frequent contacts throughout the organisation. At the same time, the respondents emphasised that workplace status was not an automatic or a constant feature, but required self-initiative, self-assurance and personal willingness to get involved and prove what you as a translator were capable of doing – it called for certain advertising of one's skills. Also, due to their long careers as in-house translators, some respondents told that they were not considered as sources of linguistic know-how only, but also as reliable sources

of procedural and tacit knowledge. However, the interviews also suggest that the ministries' English translators were competent and resourceful job crafters at all three levels: they had initiated action to broaden and emphasise their tasks; they had actively forged and maintained relationships; and they had managed to place their duties in a wider context within the government.

In this connection, Koskinen's findings (2008, 2009) among the European Commission's translators are of specific interest. The Commission translators' jobs experienced a major upheaval in 2006 with the decision to assign translators, or "language officers", to the European Commission's representations in the EU capitals. As a result, the Commission translators' job descriptions were thoroughly reformulated with new tasks and increased opportunities for, for example, direct support and feedback. This was manifested in increased job resources as the Commission translators' perceptions of, for example, the versatility and meaningfulness of their duties improved significantly. They also considered that they had better opportunities for direct feedback and contacts than earlier. Yet, the starting point is essentially different: in the Commission, the change in the experienced status and job resources was sparked through a change in the translators' physical occupational setting and job description based on a *formal top-down approach* whereas the government English translators' sense of high workplace status and differences between their job descriptions and day-to-day responsibilities can, at least to certain extent, be attributed to an *informal bottom-up approach* of job crafting. However, both studies indicate that increases in job resources, be it through institutional measures or own-initiative job crafting, were positively linked with the sense of personal translator status.

The findings concerning translator status in Chapter 5 and the current Chapter are brought together in Table 23 which proposes an outline of all the key components that contributed positively to the personal translator status in the Finnish government. The proposed outline does not constitute, nor claims to constitute, an exhaustive and all-embracing summary, but rather a concise presentation of all the factors and phenomena that the government translators considered supportive of their workplace status in light of the given status parameters in their widest sense. In the outline, the obtained results are turned into concrete proposals for action to provide inspiration for status enhancing job crafting; by both employers (organisation/commissioners) and translators alike.

Table 23 *Outline of measures to craft translator status*

Income and determination of pay	
Organisation/commissioners: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> place translators in expert pay grades pursuant to their level of education and experience ensure the competence and experience of the persons conducting the annual performance appraisal talk assure equal pay for equal work set up a system for the remuneration of on-call duties 	Translators: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> find information about the pay system and its application collect feedback and keep statistics to be able to justify any pay demands maintain close contacts with all the translators concerned and ensure a unified front demand payment for work outside regular working hours consult translators' associations and their experts when necessary
Education/expertise and ascertaining the role	
Organisation/commissioners: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> employ only qualified translators with appropriate education recognise, trust and respect translators' expertise and include them in processes that involve translating inform translators of forthcoming translation needs at the earliest possible convenience and provide relevant background material have time to discuss and reply to translators' questions keep translators updated of any possible changes provide constructive feedback ensure adequate working conditions and work equipment assess the need of translators' expertise as part of the ministry's on-call arrangements and agree on subsequent arrangements invite translators to participate in seminars and training relating to issues within the ministry's mandate 	Translators: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> assess the required level of quality and style based on the text's intended use(s) and the given timeframe – translate accordingly contact commissioners in comments or questions concerning the source text or any other factor affecting the translation respect deadlines and other agreed arrangements and guidelines develop a nose for priorities be able to justify and discuss your translation solutions assess and comment amendments proposed by the commissioner offer expert assistance in language-related matters widely follow the development of their field and make use of language technology make effort to build up networks with other experts propose and seek opportunities for further training show pride in your work
Visibility, networking and marketing	
Organisation/commissioners: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> provide easily accessible information on translators and the translation service on the intranet and other communications channels include information on translating in the training material for new employees provide translators with opportunities to participate and talk about their occupation and services 	Translators: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> take active, innovative and persistent measures to provide information about your work and the services available draw attention and provide access to practical language tools and news attend department/unit meetings and use your voice

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ensure transparent and appropriate job titles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cooperate with commissioners and, when necessary, propose one-on-one discussions and attend relevant meetings • participate in informal gatherings and coffee table discussions
<i>Power/influence and professional autonomy</i>	
Organisation/commissioners: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • involve translators in the planning and implementation of processes that affect their work and/or working conditions • consult translators in decisions that affect their work and/or working conditions • allow professional autonomy in issues concerning the daily running of the translation service • ensure equal treatment 	Translators: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • set up guidelines for the 'proper' use of translation services and insist that they are observed • assume responsibility and manage your work • establish direct contacts with the superior and commissioners • establish ways of controlling your workload and organise access to outsourcing • address unfair treatment and belittling attitudes • exert influence through membership of translators' associations

I would like to suggest that the main argument to be made on the basis of Table 23 is that there is a great deal that can be done to enhance translator status at the workplace. This would, however, require that there was sufficient understanding of the purpose, nature and scope of the work among both parties. Should the organisation/commissioners fail to encourage and relate to the translators' endeavours, the situation is likely to result in mutual frustration and conflict of interests; on the other hand, should the translators fail to take action and make themselves constructively heard, the organisation/commissioners are not likely to get the best out of their language specialists and reap the true benefits of their expertise.

6.4 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS ON JOB SATISFACTION AND THE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE JOB RESOURCES

The results indicate that the government English translators, regardless of age or experience, rated the level of their job satisfaction relatively high and almost half of them considered translation to be a vocation of a kind. Although affectionate, the rhetoric on job satisfaction and the sense of vocation did not lead to the glorification of the work, unlike, for example, among the high-status literary translators in Israel (Sela-Sheffy 2010: 136). The English translators were realistic and considered themselves fortunate as they were in a position to combine their love of languages with permanent, paid employment. Thus, even those who considered translation to be their true

vocation implied that it was easy to feel and say so because it was based on a certain level of job security and provided a steady flow of income, too.

Bearing in mind that the premise of the Job Demands-Resources model is that “job resources are positively valued physical, social, or organizational aspects of the job that are functional in achieving work goals, reduce job demands, or stimulate personal growth and development” (Schaufeli & Taris 2014: 56), it is encouraging that the government English translators’ work was characterised by a wide range of job resources. This is important not only to better understand the interconnections between job resources and translators’ job satisfaction but, more importantly, because research suggests “... that crafting more job resources (i.e. variety) would be positively associated with work enjoyment” (Tims et al. 2014: 500). Therefore, the wide array of different job characteristics is likely to promote and support the government English translators’ job satisfaction on a wide front. Furthermore, the difference between job resources and job demands is not always crystal clear. This is because job resources are defined as positively valued aspects of work, and therefore it follows that not all the job demands are automatically negative in nature. For example, challenges to performing one’s work are usually categorised as job demands but, if experienced as challenges providing opportunities for testing new approaches and solutions, they may, in fact, serve as challenging job resources. Therefore, the range of government translators’ job resources may be even more varied than those captured by the present study. The results also suggest that, in addition to increasing the versatility of the work, job resources enabled the English translators “to learn new things and to personally grow at work” (eid.: 2014: 493).

The JD-R model also argues that job resources may relate to job characteristics that serve both an intrinsic and extrinsic motivational role (Bakker & Demerouti 2007, 313). Richard M. Ryan and Edward L. Deci (2000: 56, 60) define intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as follows:

Intrinsic motivation is defined as the doing of an activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequence. [--] Extrinsic motivation is a construct that pertains whenever an activity is done in order to attain some separable outcome. Extrinsic motivation thus contrasts with intrinsic motivation, which refers to doing an activity simply for the enjoyment of the activity itself, rather than its instrumental value.

The analysis of the English translators’ job resources demonstrates that the respondents identified elements of both intrinsic motivation (e.g. meaningful responsibilities, mastery and job control) and extrinsic motivation (e.g. income and flexible working hours). The intrinsically motivating job resources are likely to foster learning and development whereas the extrinsically motivating job resources may contribute to the achievement of work goals. The analysis of the government English translators’ job resources suggests that the relative weight of the identified job resources is in favour of the elements of intrinsic motivation. The result is in line with the findings of Dam and Zethsen

(2016: 183) who conclude that despite, in their case, of poor external incentives, translators take pride in their profession and its challenging nature, they value the skills and competences it requires, and consider it professionally fulfilling. It must, however, be underlined that the relatively small number of mentions relating to the extrinsically motivating job resources may also result from the fact that such job resources were not characteristic of the peak experiences or that they did not gain attention because they consisted of what was considered as 'the normal state of affairs' (e.g. good working conditions) and the respondents' simply failed to state the obvious.

It is also interesting to notice that, in part, the abundance of the identified job resources results undoubtedly from the respondents' own efforts to craft their jobs. The respondents' accounts of their duties as government English translators differed from the formal job descriptions in a manner suggesting that the respondents had made deliberate effort to enhance their job resources. In addition to adding new tasks, job crafting efforts may partly explain the strong tendency to mention the sense of having meaningful tasks as the respondents may have consciously decided to direct more energy and emphasis onto such tasks. They had also found ways of redesigning their tasks by improving, for example, the versatility of their tasks by including elements of training and instruction to their duties. The accounts also suggest that the respondents had changed their workplace relationships by actively seeking and seizing opportunities for cooperation with translation commissioners and colleagues in the other ministries. The respondents had also found ways of expanding their perceptions of the job as a number of them perceived their work to be an integral component contributing to the ministry's international obligations, relations and image. Similarly, the regular pay was perceived not only as a present means of income but also as a guarantee of a future pension. All this is likely to have affected the respondents' perception of their job satisfaction since it can be assumed "that employees alter the task and relational boundaries of their jobs to create work with which they are more satisfied" (Wrzesniewski & Dutton 2001: 181). Based on the interview data, Figure 9 summarises the kinds of job resources that support the government English translators' job satisfaction. In line with the JD-R model, the interview data suggests that job resources have direct effect on job satisfaction. The findings also suggest that, among the government English translators, job crafting is of relevance to the identified resources in each of the job resource categories.

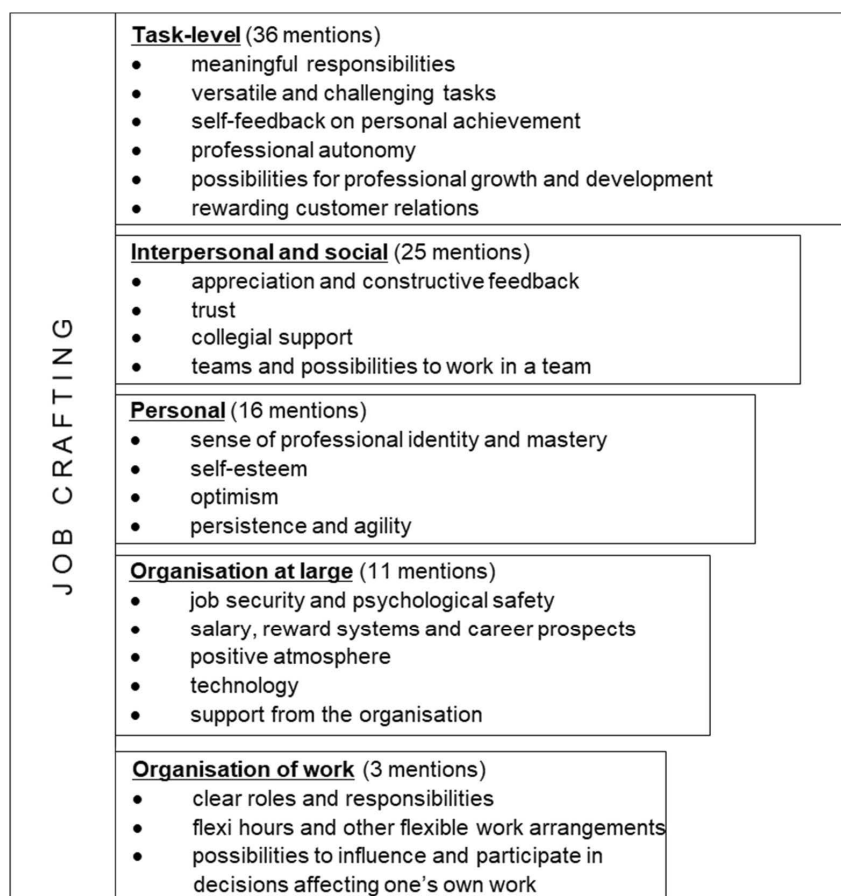


Figure 9 Job resources identified in context of job satisfaction and peak experiences

Although the results indicate that job crafting targeted at increasing a specific job resource may support and promote translators' positive experiences at work, it is impossible to say anything definite about the directionality, or indeed about the mutual magnitude, of the detected interaction between job crafting and job satisfaction. The same applies to the relationship between job crafting and the respondents' perception of their workplace status. Based on the interview data, it can only be concluded that the impact of the activities to enhance occupational appreciation was decidedly not negative. In addition, the factors underlying the respondents' status perceptions were such that could be enhanced through concerted action. Therefore, with due consideration, job crafting carries the promise of measures with which to bolster not only translators' job resources but also their workplace status.

From the organisation's point of view, it is, however, important to notice that Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001: 180) have argued that job crafting cannot be defined as innately good or bad for organisations; it may change both the content of the employees' tasks, the manner in which they are carried out, and the perceived significance and role of the job. Hence, the impact on the organisation is always both situationally and contextually conditioned. The results of this thesis support findings which indicate that opportunities for job crafting encourage employees to develop and make better use of their professional potential, thus likely to benefit the employer (van den Heuvel et al. 2015: 524). Yet, it must be acknowledged that, by crafting their jobs, the respondents may have deliberately devoted less energy to the more tedious duties and emphasised the duties of their personal preference. However, Justin M. Berg et al. (2008) argue that, despite the opportunities for self-profiting behaviour, job crafting has good potential for benefiting an organisation provided that it is geared towards the attainment of the agreed goals:

Since job crafting has the capacity to positively influence individual and organizational performance, managers may want to create a context that fosters resourceful job crafting. This starts with designing jobs that leave room for crafting, so employees can tailor their jobs to fit their motives, strengths, and passions, while at the same time meeting relevant organizational goals.

Based on my findings concerning the measures to enhance translator status, put forward in Table 23, I would like to suggest that to be mutually benefitting, job crafting has to be transparent and involve active cooperation between the organisation and its translators.

PART IV

7 CONCLUSION

The present study set out to examine the Finnish government English translators' perceptions of their translator status and job satisfaction and, in the same context, to identify the factors contributing to these perceptions. The research design was based on a mixed method approach combining qualitative interview data and quantitative questionnaire data. The first part of the research interest was motivated by earlier research where translator status in society had been considered only middling or low. In addition, the perplexity of the status question was accentuated by suggestions that the general low-status image did not automatically extend to the perceptions of personal translator status. As regards job satisfaction, on the other hand, recent research has indicated that translators often find pleasure and motivation in their work, but fairly little is known about the factors underlying these perceptions. The present thesis drew on these research opportunities.

The interview data collected from among 16 government English translators served as the primary source of data for the study. Secondary data was provided by a questionnaire administered among the Finnish government translators at large, attracting 28 respondents. Recourse was also made to statutes, archival records, government reports, statistics, minutes of meetings, the ministries' websites, and any administrative documents and internal instructions as relevant and available via the ministries' registries.

Pursuing the research introduction in Chapter 1, the present thesis started with a brief overview of the framework pertinent to the development and organisation of the government translation services in Finland in Chapter 2. This was to establish the institutional setting of the research environment. Chapter 3 provided an overview of the Sociology of Translation as the predominant theoretical framework under which to place and interpret the research project. The Chapter also introduced the premises of positive psychology where the focus of attention is on factors that make people thrive and willing to excel – a fundamental that informed the whole research endeavour. Chapter 3 also defined the concepts of occupational status and job satisfaction and presented some of the main job satisfaction theories and tools borrowed from the research on wellbeing at work, namely the Job Demands-Resources model and job crafting. Attention was also devoted to related previous research in the field of Translation Studies. The methodology of the research project was laid down in Chapter 4 with information on the research design, data collection methods, respondent population and methods of data analysis. Chapter 5 provided an analysis of the collected data in terms of

translator status based on an established set of status parameters relating to income, education/expertise, visibility and power/influence and in light of other status-affecting factors and phenomena observed in the data. Chapter 6 focused on the perceived level of job satisfaction and approached it in view of the Job Demands-Resources model and job crafting. The purpose of the present Chapter is to review and summarise the research results and posit openings for further research.

My research interest in the Finnish government English translators' status and job satisfaction perceptions was motivated by research findings suggesting that although translators in general considered their professional status to be low, they seemed to take great satisfaction in their work. While intrigued by the perplexing conclusions, an even more decisive driving force behind my research interest was the fact that relatively little qualitative effort had been geared towards examining the factors underlying these seemingly inconsistent perceptions. Consequently, the present study set out, first, to examine to what extent the previous findings concerning translators' status and job satisfaction perceptions would find support among a clearly defined research population, the Finnish government English translators, and, second, to gain an insight into the mechanisms affecting these perceptions in the given circumstances.

The main findings of the present study indicate that the Finnish government English translators:

- expressed reservations about translator status in society at large but considered their personal workplace status to be very high
- described their level of job satisfaction in very positive terms
- indicated a number of factors underlying these perceptions

Careful analyses of the identified status and job satisfaction factors enabled to gain a comprehensive picture of what it might take to make a government English translator tick.

On status and job satisfaction

The results of the present study suggest that the government English translators' high status perceptions were bolstered by what they considered their 'due place' in the ministry's hierarchy in light of the status parameters relating to income, education/expertise, visibility and power/influence. In the same connection, and most probably due to their long-term positions as salaried in-house translators on a fixed-term employment relationship, the respondents also dismantled, or at least seriously questioned, some of the persistent myths considering translator status. This is because, in broad terms, they:

- were fairly satisfied with their income based on its relative standing within the ministry's pay system and in relation to the general level of translators' income
- considered themselves to be able to act as experts with recognised and unique abilities to promote the success of the ministries
- were mostly satisfied with their visibility within and outside the ministry – internal visibility was mainly personal and achieved through opportunities for professional contacts, networks and information dissemination across the organisation(s); whereas external visibility was primarily instrumental in nature and promoted through high-quality translations
- considered the texts they translated as a means of exerting influence.

The interviews, however, indicate that the perceptions of a high translator status relate to much more than just the status parameters. What seems of equal importance is the sense of receiving genuine recognition and trust; of having opportunities for cooperation and experiences of inclusion and significance; and of being able to enjoy a certain level of occupational autonomy. These indications paved way for the second part of the research objective which was to identify and analyse the factors behind the status and job satisfaction perceptions based on the respondents' accounts of their job satisfaction, the nature and range of job resources, and evidences of job crafting.

The level of job satisfaction was mapped through a simple question: How satisfied are you with your job? In the responses, the English translators described their job satisfaction in positive terms regardless of age, years of work experience or the frequency of negative feelings that are also associated with the work (stress, external time pressure or intention to leave the industry). Half of the government English translators also considered that translation could be described as their vocation. The findings support the suggestion that the perceptions of professional value are positively linked to sentiments of job satisfaction.

To examine the building blocks of the expressed level of job satisfaction, attention was given to job resources which translate as the characteristics of the job that facilitate the attainment of work goals, reduce job demands and the associated burdens, and/or foster personal growth, learning and development. The examination of the job resources was based on the English translators' descriptions of the reasons for their job satisfaction, experiences of professional pride, feelings of rewarding work, and the most positive experiences encountered at work. This approach allowed to obtain information on the respondents' peak experiences at work and yielded a relatively high proportion of job resources relating to the task level. This may result from the chosen abundance approach with its deliberate emphasis on job characteristics associated with optimal achievements and performances

and on the related facilitators. Consequently, because of its explicit focus on achievements and performances, the approach may not be best geared towards eliciting information on the job resources at large. However, it is also arguable that the approach, based on the respondents' spontaneous accounts of their positive workplace experiences, made it possible to bring to the fore unintentional and unrehearsed information on the existing job resources. Also, as all the respondents took the opportunity to explain reasons for their job satisfaction in general, it was possible to expand the examination beyond the peak experiences only. Yet, it must be acknowledged that some job resources may have received less attention, or been left unmentioned, simply because the accounts of professional highlights may accentuate the most prominent and most memorable job characteristics at the expense of the more ordinary and everyday job resources. Such resources could, perhaps, be better reached through, for example, diary-based approaches as suggested by Mossop (2014).

The interview data was also examined in light of job crafting which refers to employees' self-initiated action to redesign and change their jobs. The interviews depict the government English translators as dynamic job crafters in all three dimensions of the concept as they had actively sought to introduce changes to their work-related tasks, professional relationships and perceptions of the job. This is likely to have resulted in a better job-person fit which, in turn, is likely to be manifested in the reported level of job satisfaction among the government English translators. Therefore, the findings of the present study support suggestions that investments in and encouragement of bottom-up approaches, such as job crafting, contribute significantly to satisfaction at work. However, it is important to acknowledge that the results of the present study do not allow to say anything definite about the extent and directionality between the two issues.

As suggested earlier, the results show that the texture of the factors affecting the Finnish government English translators' perceptions of status and job satisfaction was far more varied and colourful than that captured by the four status parameters only. Unquestionably, the four parameters were also tightly interwoven into the accounts relating to job satisfaction, job resources and efforts of job crafting, but it was only in connection with the wider narratives that it became possible to learn more about their significance and role to translators' work. Therefore, I would like to claim that it was only through seeking information on the other factors at play, that it was possible to gain a better understanding of the elements affecting the government translators' status perceptions at large.

However, I am acutely aware that the present study, with its strictly defined research population representing the Finnish government English translators only, is not without its limitations. First and foremost, it is evident that the circumstances typical of the government translators' work are a far cry from the circumstances faced by freelance translators and many other groups of translation professionals today. Yet, I would argue that the qualitative findings

on factors affecting translator status and job satisfaction within the Finnish government bear certain relevance to translation services across state and municipal administration in general. This lends justification to conducting the study in Finland where translation is both a statutory requirement and an everyday necessity and, therefore, the number of translators working within administration, or comparable workplaces, is considerable. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that, having reached all of the government English translators, the results manage to highlight issues that are, at least to some extent, universal to translators' work everywhere. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that, due to the research setting, the results are likely to be best suited for efforts focusing on factors affecting the status and job satisfaction of in-house translators with a permanent, or at least a fixed-term, position within an organisation where the translators enjoy a certain level of professional autonomy and, consequently, opportunities for agency.

Final remarks and proposals for future research

The findings of the present study leave us with the following dilemma: is the Finnish government a workplace characterised by conditions inherent to positive perceptions of translator status and job satisfaction (such as permanent employment and regular pay); or has the government translators' own action (i.e. active job crafting) resulted in circumstances that endorse these perceptions? Answering this simple question in no uncertain terms is likely to prove difficult. One of the most probable factors contributing to the expressed status perceptions is that even though the history of English translators within the Finnish government is fairly short, translation as a paid profession *per se* has a very long history within the government. For centuries, it has been recognised as a distinct public office with a set of skills-based recruitment criteria not associated with the ideas of "inborn exceptional talent and sensibilities as well as moral and ethical virtues, such as a sense of perfection and ideals, integrity, devotion, and even self-sacrifice for the benefit of the community" (Sela-Sheffy 2010: 137).

The role and inevitable necessity of institutional translation and translators is, therefore, not something novel within the given context. Against this background, it is arguable that, perhaps, it is not one or the other, but rather a combination of the two: due to a long tradition of translation activity, the Finnish ministries have learned to work with their translators which, in turn, has encouraged the government English translators to invest and engage in activities advantageous to their professional needs and requirements. This interpretation finds support in Nordman's study (2009: 65) on legal translation in Finland where she comments on the everyday nature of translation within the Finnish context. Over time, the coexistence of translation services as an integral part of the government activities may have developed into work environments which are characterised by certain gain cycles and which, although not without their shortcomings, manage to foster

conditions that support translator status and job satisfaction, and leave room for own-initiative job crafting, too.

Be that as it may, in the future, organisations will find themselves in a situation where it will be increasingly important that they manage to strike a good balance between their business goals and what promotes “physical health, subjective well-being, functional groups, and flourishing institutions” (Gable & Haidt 2005: 108). This is because recent studies indicate that the workplace expectations of the digital natives are different from those of the past generations. For example, a survey conducted by the Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA¹⁰² in 2014 among the Millennials, the generation of people born between the early 1980s and the early 2000s, showed that the young attach great value on adequate and well-functioning tools, pleasant work environments, and security. They also put great importance on the overall atmosphere and informal encounters at work. In addition, another Finnish study showed that although work in itself continues to carry intrinsic value, the young seem to put increased emphasis on free time and possibilities to better reconcile work and private life (Pyöriä & Ojala 2016: 39). All this suggests that there is, indeed, a call for cross-disciplinary perspectives to better understand and promote the potential and impact of positive approaches and applications in the workplace (Luthans & Youssef 2009: 585). To achieve this, it is obviously necessary to have adequate tools with which to gain information on the aspects that the employees find important and constructive to their experiences at work.

The results of the present study suggest that the Job Demands-Resources model, which is generally used for testing correlation hypotheses between various workplace phenomena among large research populations, is methodologically applicable to small-scale qualitative studies, too. Together with the concept of job crafting, the JD-R model can provide a practical and flexible framework for examining factors underlying translators’ workplace perceptions and their agency there within. It would also be interesting to examine the overlapping and occasionally conflicting nature of job demands and job resources; to address the blurring of their contours and changes in their perception. Among larger populations, the JD-R model would naturally allow for quantitative research, too, which would enable to contrast the ensuing results with similarly motivated research among other professional groups and, perhaps, bring to the fore issues that seem specific to the translation profession and its advancement.

As the profiles of the examined government English translators agreed with all but the last part of Hubscher-Davidson’s (2018: 195–196) proposed characterisation of an emotionally competent professional translator – who is likely be older than younger, who is in possession of a university degree, who has several years of translation experience, who is satisfied with the job, and who has experience of literary translation – further research on the

¹⁰² Retrieved 22 Feb. 2018 from <http://www.eva.fi/tyotjatekijat/tarkeimmat-asiat-tyopaikalla-2014/>.

government English translators' trait EI would allow to elicit information on the possible interconnectedness between translators' EI and wellbeing at work. This is because there is indication that trait EI is positively connected to the enhancement of job resources which, in turn, mediate job satisfaction (Miao et al. 2017).

I finish by suggesting that to learn more about the nature of translators' work-related gain cycles and future working life demands, research on Translator Studies could next be geared towards work engagement. Research on work engagement would provide future researchers with an established framework with which to examine the elements that contribute "to a positive, fulfilling, work-related state of mind that is characterized by vigor (that is, high levels of energy and mental resilience while working), dedication (referring to a sense of significance, enthusiasm, and challenge), and absorption (being focused and happily engrossed in one's work)" as defined by Schaufeli and Taris (2014: 46). Ideally, research on work engagement would be accompanied by particular emphasis on the examination of the views, attitudes and expectations of translators' employers, commissioners and/or clients.

To enhance the understanding of the factors relevant to translators' status and job satisfaction perceptions, further qualitative research should also target the role of the involved emotions, sociocognitive processes and networks. This could provide new insight into the cognitive mechanisms that shape and determine translators work-related perceptions and, by doing so, produce new information on factors that support translators' physical and psychological wellbeing at work. All this would further enrich the scope of Translator Studies and, for its part, help bridge the gap between theory and practice.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX I

GOVERNMENT REPORTS RELATING TO THE ORGANISATION OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TRANSLATION SERVICES PUBLISHED IN 1985–2014

Available from the Government Registry unless otherwise indicated.

I. Reports on ways to develop the coordination of government in-house translation services

Ministry of Finance (1986, 30 Nov.). Selvitys valtion käännöstoiminnasta [Report on the state translation activity].

Ministry of Finance (1988, 9 Aug.). Kielipalvelu valtionhallinnossa. [Terminology service in state administration]. Working group memorandum. VM 17.

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Prime Minister's Office (1991, 17 Jan.). Kääntäjätyöryhmän mietintö. [Report by the translator working group]

Prime Minister's Office (1996, 11 Oct.). Säädöskäännöstyöryhmän mietintö. [Report by the working group on legal translation]. Prime Minister's Office Publications 7/1996.

II. Reports on ways to regionalise the government translation services

Government (2001, 8 Nov.). Valtioneuvoston periaatepäätös valtion toimintojen sijoittamisen strategiasta. [Government resolution on the strategy for the relocation on state activities]

Ministry of Finance (2006). Valtion tilinpäätöskertomus vuodelta 2006, Osa II: Ministeriöiden toimialan toiminnan tuloksellisuuden kuvaukset, Valtioneuvoston kanslia, Erityisteema: Käännöspalvelut. [Final central government accounts 2006, Part II: Productivity of activities within the ministries' mandate, Prime Minister's Office, Special theme: Translation services] K 12/2007 vp.

Ministry of Finance (2009, 15 Jun.). Tukitoimintojen alueellistamistyöryhmän loppuraportti. [Final report by the working group for relocating support services]. Ministry of Finance Publications 26/2009.

Ministry of the Interior (2005, 29 Apr.). Ruotsinkielisten hallintopalveluiden kokoaminen ja alueellistaminen. [Pooling and regionalisation of administrative services provided in Swedish]. Ministry of the Interior Publications 22/2005.

Prime Minister's Office (2004, 31 Aug.). Keskushallinnon tukitehtävien alueellistaminen – työryhmäraportit [Regionalisation of central government support services – working group reports] Prime Minister's Office Publications 15/2004.

Prime Minister's Office (2006, 16 Dec.). Valtionhallinnon kielipalveluiden nykytila. [Report on the current state of language services in state administration] Prime Minister's Office Reports 10/2006.

Prime Minister's Office (2007, 28 Feb.). Valtion kielipalveluiden organisointi. Selvitysmiehen raportti. [Organisation of state language services. Evaluator report.] Prime Minister's Office Publications 10/2007. Retrieved 9 Jul. from <http://vnk.fi/julkaisu?pubid=9003>

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III. Reports on ways to pool the government translation services within the government

Prime Minister's Office (2013, 5 Apr.). Selvitys valtioneuvoston hallinto- ja palvelukokonaisuuden muodostamisesta ja sen vaikutuksista. [Report on the establishment and effects of a government administration and service pool]

Prime Minister's Office (2014, 6 Mar.). Valtioneuvoston hallintoyksikkö 2015 –hankesuunnitelma. [Project plan for the Government Administration Department 2015]

ANNEX II

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I. Questions on organisation and management

1. What is your job title in Finnish and English?
2. In which department/unit do you work?
3. Does your department/unit hold regular meetings and, if so, in what manner can translators make themselves heard in them?
4. Do you have a deputy – i.e. how are translation services organised when you are away?
5. Is your superior a language specialist – what is your personal opinion about the advantages/drawbacks of this?
6. To what extent do you feel that your ministry's set of values is reflected in your work?

II. Questions on job profile, professional autonomy and participation

1. What does your job profile consist of?
2. Who is responsible for the contents and outcome of your work?
3. How do you go about doing your work – what does it take to fulfil your duties?
4. How much room is there as regards choosing the way you work and the tools you use?
5. Is your post included in the ministry's on-call arrangements – e.g. stand-by readiness in case of emergencies?
6. Are you given tasks that, in your opinion, do not make part of your responsibilities – if so, what kinds of tasks?
7. In what kinds of situations do you have to stretch your working hours?
8. Can you use "power" in your work or is the management of your work based on the top-down approach – can you give some examples of this?
9. How well do you feel that you may influence or participate in issues that concern the running or development of your work/unit/department/ministry – is your expertise used in a wide sense?
10. What have you personally done to change/develop your own work?
11. In which of your ministry's working or project groups have you participated during the past five years?
12. What kinds of opportunities do you have for professional cooperation or shared working – with whom and where?
13. What would you answer if you were asked to name the factor that has most significantly changed/developed the contents and/or organisation of your work?

III. Questions on professional status and awareness of translators' work

1. How do you see the value of your work and profession in the ministry?
2. In the ministry, which factors speak about positive value – which about negative?
3. Do you see yourself as an expert and are you treated as one; please provide examples?
4. On what scale are you in the ministry's pay system and is it in line with your own opinion about the qualifications and requirements of the work?
5. Does your ministry have any other remuneration schemes for translators?
6. What is expected of translations and translating?
7. How much do the commissioners know about the translation process – how do they find information about your work/translation services in the ministry?
8. What is the procedure for requesting translations – are there opportunities for cooperation with the commissioners within the ministry?
9. What kinds of issues/practices have you developed/would like to develop as regards contacts with the commissioners – why?
10. Do you have regular performance evaluation talks and, if so, with whom?
11. When have you felt professional pride?
12. When/in what kind of situations have you felt that your work is being downplayed?
13. What have you done to increase the value attached to your work?

IV. Questions on wellbeing at work and support for professional development

1. What kind of support does the employer provide for translators' wellbeing at work?
2. How do you get feedback and how is it dealt with?
3. What kind of opportunities does the employer provide for professional development?
4. How often do you have an opportunity to participate in, for example, language courses?
5. What kind of opportunities do you have for purely professional cooperation within your ministry and at government level – are you able to make use of each other's professional expertise?
6. When do you find your work rewarding?
7. When do you find your work frustrating or irritating?

V. Questions on present and future perspectives

1. What is it that you aim to achieve with your work – what should it accomplish?
2. Why does translating make part of the ministry's functions?
3. If you think about the level of your job satisfaction, how satisfied are you with the current situation?
4. Why did you choose this particular profession?
5. Would you say that being a translator is your calling?
6. What is the most positive experience during your professional career?
7. How do you see the future of your profession within the government/how do you think that the central government reorganisation project (KEHU) is likely to affect the situation?
8. What is it that only professional translators can offer to the ministry now and in the future – what is the 'good' of the profession to the ministry?

ANNEX III

QUESTIONNAIRE

SUOMALAISTEN KÄÄNTÄJIEN AMMATTIKUVA JA KÄÄNTÄJÄN AMMATIN ARVOSTUS

Tervetuloa vastaamaan laajimpaan Suomessa tehtyyn tutkimukseen kääntäjien ammattikuvasta ja ammatin arvostuksesta. Tavoitteena on kartoittaa

- ammatin nykytilaa: työtehtäviä, tulotasoa, yhteisöllisyyttä ja teknologian käyttöä sekä
- ammatin arvostusta ja siihen vaikuttavia tekijöitä.

Kysely on tarkoitettu **asiatekstien kääntäjille, av-kääntäjille sekä kauno- tai tietokirjallisuuden suomentajille**. Vastauksia kaivataan myös kääntäjiltä, jotka tekevät käännöksiä sivutoimisesti, ovat tällä hetkellä muun alan töissä tai opiskelevat uutta ammattia.

Kyselyllä pyritään saamaan mahdollisimman laajoja ja luotettavia tuloksia, joita voidaan soveltaa alan edunvalvonnassa. Kysely perustuu Tanskassa Århusin yliopistossa vuosina 2008 - 2012 tehtyyn tutkimukseen. Kysely toteutetaan yhteistyössä Käännösalan ammattilaiset KAJ ry:n sekä Suomen kääntäjien ja tulkkien liiton kanssa, ja tuloksista raportoidaan vuoden 2015 aikana. Voit myös pyytää yhteenvedon tuloksista ilmoittamalla sähköpostiosoitteesi.

Pyydämme, että vastaat kyselyyn itsenäisesti, **omien kääntäjän kokemuksiesi ja näkemyksiesi pohjalta**. Vältä "poliittisesti korrekteja" vastauksia. **Kääntämisellä tarkoitetaan** kyselyssä sekä konkreettista viestien välittämistä kielestä toiseen että kääntäjän tekemiä valmistelu- ja viimeistelytyöitä, kuten tiedonhakua, kielentarkistusta ja asiakassuhteiden hoitoa. Jos toimit myös tulkkina, pyri silti keskittymään kääntämisen näkökulmaan.

Vastaamiseen kannattaa varata vähintään 30 - 40 minuuttia. Teknisistä syistä vastauksia ei valitettavasti voi välitallentaa. Jos kysymyksen perässä on oranssi kysymysmerkki (?), saat lisäohjeita vastaamiseen viemällä hiiren sen päälle. Kyselylomakkeen tekstiä (näytön resoluutiota) voi suurentaa painamalla näppäimistöltä yhtä aikaa **Ctrl ja +** (plus-merkki).

Vastaukset käsitellään nimettöminä ja ehdottoman luottamuksellisesti siten, ettei niitä voi missään vaiheessa yhdistää yksittäiseen vastaajaan.

Yhteystietonsa ilmoittaneiden kesken arvotaan 5 kpl 80 euron lahjakortteja Suomalaiseen kirjakauppaan. Arvontaan osallistuminen ei edellytä kyselyyn vastaamista. Voittajille ilmoitetaan sähköpostitse.

Nyt voit kertoa, miten juuri Sinä näet ammattisi ihanimmat ja ärsyttävimmät puolet ja mitä pitäisi muuttaa!

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Tietoinen suostumus

Sähköpostiosoitteeni _____ on _____

[Ohjeteksti: Ilmoita sähköpostiosoitteesi, jos osallistut arvontaan tai haluat koosteen kyselyn tuloksista.]

- ☐ Haluan koosteen tuloksista sähköpostitse

Tietoinen suostumus ja lahjakortin arvonta

- ☐ Osallistun kyselyyn ja arvontaan.
☐ En osallistu kyselyyn, mutta haluan osallistua arvontaan.

[Jos vastaaja valitsee jälkimmäisen vaihtoehdon, hän siirtyy suoraan kyselyn loppuun]

Aluksi

Halutessasi voit antaa luvan siihen, että vastauksesi taltioidaan Yhteiskuntatieteelliseen tietoarkistoon (FSD, Tampereen yliopisto) tieteelliseen jatkotutkimuskäyttöön. Arkistoaineistoa käsitellään luottamuksellisesti, eikä vastauksia voida yhdistää yksittäiseen vastaajaan. [Ohjeteksti: Arkistoa hallinnoi Tampereen yliopisto, ja sinne on pääsy vain rekisteröityneillä käyttäjillä.]

Vastaukseni saa taltioida
Vastauksiani ei saa taltioida

A-1. Mitä seuraavista käännösalan töistä olet tehnyt **viiden viime vuoden** aikana? Valitse kaikki sopivat vaihtoehdot

asiatekstien kääntäminen
av-kääntäminen
kaunokirjallisuuden kääntäminen
tietokirjallisuuden kääntäminen
oikoluku, kielen tarkistus
projektinhallinta
tulkkaus

Mahdolliset muut viiden viime vuoden aikana tekemäsi käännösalan työt:

A-2. Koetko olevasi ammatti-identiteetiltäsi ensisijaisesti

asiatekstinkääntäjä
av-kääntäjä
kaunokirjallisuuden kääntäjä, suomentaja
tietokirjallisuuden kääntäminen
muu

Jos vastasit "muu", tarkenna tähän:

A-3. Miten paljon työkokemusta sinulla on **ammatti-identiteettiäsi vastaavista** käännösalan tehtävistä?

0-2 vuotta
2-5 vuotta
6-10 vuotta
11-15 vuotta
16-20 vuotta
21 vuotta tai kauemmin

A-4. Miten kauan olet kaiken kaikkiaan työskennellyt käännösosalalla?

- 0-2 vuotta
- 2-5 vuotta
- 6-10 vuotta
- 11-15 vuotta
- 16-20 vuotta
- 21 vuotta tai kauemmin

A-5 Mikä seuraavista kuvaa **tämänhetkistä** työllisyystilannettasi parhaiten?

- ☐ Yrittäjä, freelancer tai työsuhteinen freelancer
- ☐ Työ- tai virkasuhteessa tai osuuskunnan jäsen
- ☐ Opiskelija, työtön tai töissä muulla kuin käännösosalalla

B-1. Mikä on työ- tai virkanimikkeesi?

B-2. Onko työnantajasi

- ☐ käännösalan yritys, suomalainen
- ☐ käännösalan yritys, kansainvälinen
- ☐ muun kuin käännösalan pk-yritys (enintään 250 työntekijää)
- ☐ muun kuin käännösalan suuryritys (yli 250 työntekijää), suomalainen
- ☐ muun kuin käännösalan suuryritys, kansainvälinen
- ☐ kansainvälinen järjestö tai yhteisö (esim. EU)
- ☐ valtio
- ☐ kunta
- ☐ osuuskunta
- ☐ muu

B-3. Jos vastasit "muu", tarkenna halutessasi:

B-4. **Jos työskentelet yrityksessä**, oletko sen osakas?

- ☐ Olen
- ☐ En

B-5. Kuinka monta vuotta olet ollut töissä nykyisessä työpaikassasi?

- ☐ 0-2 vuotta
- ☐ 2-5 vuotta
- ☐ 6-10 vuotta
- ☐ 11-15 vuotta
- ☐ 16-20 vuotta
- ☐ 21 vuotta tai kauemmin

B-6. Kuuluuko työhösi toimistotyötä tai hallinnollisia tehtäviä mahdollisen projektinhallinnan lisäksi?

- ☐ Erittäin paljon
- ☐ Paljon
- ☐ Jonkin verran
- ☐ Vähän
- ☐ Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

B-7. Luotetaanko työpaikallasi käännoestes laatuun?

- ☐ Erittäin paljon
- ☐ Paljon
- ☐ Jonkin verran
- ☐ Vähän
- ☐ Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

Komentoi halutessasi tarkemmin:

B-8. Mikä on kuukausipalkkasi (brutto)?

alle 1500 e
1500-1999 e
2000-2499 e
2500-2999 e
3000-3499 e
3500-3999 e
4000-4499 e
4500-4999 e
5000 e tai enemmän

B-9. Oletko tyytyväinen tulotasoon?

Erittäin tyytyväinen
Melko tyytyväinen
En tyytyväinen enkä tyytymätön
Melko tyytymätön
Erittäin tyytymätön

B-10. Miten paljon sinua kääntäjänä arvostetaan työpaikallasi?

Erittäin paljon

Paljon

Jonkin verran

Vähän

Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

B-11. Onko kääntäjän työsi tärkeää yrityksen tai työnantajan menestykselle?

Erittäin paljon

Paljon

Jonkin verran

Vähän

Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

Kommentoi halutessasi tarkemmin:

B-12. Toimitko työpaikallasi esimies- tai johtotason tehtävissä?

Kyllä

En

B-13. Millaiset mahdollisuudet sinulla on kääntäjänä päästä työpaikallasi esimies- tai johtotason tehtäviin?

Erittäin hyvät

Hyvät

Kohtalaiset

Heikot

Erittäin heikot

Työaika

C-1. Kuinka monta tuntia työskentelet keskimäärin viikossa?

alle 16 tuntia

16-31 tuntia

32-40 tuntia (=kokopäivätyö)

41-50 tuntia

51 tuntia tai enemmän

C-2. Kuinka suuren osan työajastasi käytät seuraavien alojen kääntämiseen ja niihin liittyviin tehtäviin (tiedonhaku, kielentarkistus, laadunvalvonta, asiakassuhteet jne.)?

En tee ko. tehtäviä	0-25 %	26-50 %	51-75 %	76
% tai enemmän				
asiatekstien kääntäminen				

av-kääntäminen
kaunokirjallisuuden kääntäminen
muiden tekemien käännösten oikoluku, kielen tarkistus
tulkkaukset
muut tehtävät (projektinhallinta, muut ansiotyöt)

Työtilat ja työyhteisö

C-3. Missä useimmiten työskentelet?

Kotona
Omissa toimitiloissa kodin ulkopuolella
Työnantajan toimitiloissa kodin ulkopuolella

C-4. Jos työskentelet työnantajan toimitiloissa, sijaitseeko työhuoneesi tai työpisteesi (kirjoituspöytä, tietokone ym.)...

Keskeisellä paikalla työnantajan toimitiloissa
Syrjäisellä paikalla työnantajan toimitiloissa
Ei keskeisellä eikä syrjäisellä paikalla työnantajan toimitiloissa

C-5. Jaatko työhuoneesi tai toimitilasi muiden kanssa? [Ohje: Muiden kääntäjien, muiden työntekijöiden, muiden itsenäisten ammatinharjoittajien]

Kyllä
En

C-6. Miten usein olet kääntäjän työssäsi yhteydessä (kasvotusten, puhelimitse, sähköpostitse, Facebookissa jne.) seuraaviin toimijoihin: [Ohje: Kaikki mahdollinen yhteydenpito: toimeksiannosta sopiminen, tiedonhaku, kommentteista keskustelu.]
Vähintään 3-4 kertaa viikossa / 1-2 kertaa viikossa / 1-2 kertaa kuussa / 3-4 kertaa vuodessa / 1-2 kertaa vuodessa tai harvemmin / Ei sovi työnkuvaani

kääntäjät omalla työpaikalla tai muualla
muut työntekijät omalla työpaikalla
erikoisalan asiantuntijat (esim. tiedonhaun vuoksi)
toimeksiannon välittäjät (esim. käännöskoordinaattorit, kustannustoimittajat)
suorat asiakkaat
lähtötekstien kirjoittajat
käännöksen loppukäyttäjät (lukijat, kuluttajat)
kääntämisen opettajat, tutkijat

Vaikutusmahdollisuudet

C-7. Miten paljon pystyt vaikuttamaan omalla toiminnallasi (esim. neuvottelemalla)

Erittäin paljon / Paljon / Jonkin verran / Vähän /
Erittäin vähän tai en lainkaan
työaikoihisi
käännösten aikatauluihin

asiakaskuntaasi eli siihen, mille toimeksiantajille teet töitä
siihen, mitä tekstejä otat käännettäväksi
käännöspalkkioihin tai tulotasoosi
käännettävien tekstien (lähtötekstien) laatuun
toimeksiantajan odotuksiin käännöksen laadusta
valmiin käännöksen laatuun

C-8. Joudutko tinkimään käännöksen laadusta ulkoisten tekijöiden (esim. aikataulujen) vuoksi?

En koskaan
1-2 kertaa vuodessa
3-4 kertaa vuodessa
Kuukausittain
Viikoittain
Päivittäin

Ammatissa viihtyminen

C-9. Jos saisit täysin vapaasti valita, työskentelisitkö mieluiten yrittäjänä tai freelancerina
työsuhteisena freelancerina
työ- tai virkasuhteessa

C-10. Koetko käännöstyöhön liittyvää häiritsevää stressiä?

En lainkaan
1-2 kertaa vuodessa
3-4 kertaa vuodessa
Kuukausittain
Viikoittain
Päivittäin

C-11. Oletko harkinnut alan vaihtoa kuluneen vuoden aikana?

En lainkaan
1-2 kertaa vuodessa
3-4 kertaa vuodessa
Kuukausittain
Viikoittain
Päivittäin

C-12. Kommentteja, perusteluja:

Kääntäjän ammattikuva

D-1. Liittykö kääntämiseen mielestäsi luovuutta?

Erittäin paljon
Paljon
Jonkin verran
Vähän
Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-2. Vaatiiko kääntäminen erityisosaamista?

Erittäin paljon
Paljon
Jonkin verran
Vähän
Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-3. Miten paljon kääntäjällä on työssään vastuuta?

Erittäin paljon
Paljon
Jonkin verran
Vähän
Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-4. Miellätkö kääntämisen asiantuntijatyöksi?

Erittäin paljon
Paljon
Jonkin verran
Vähän
Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-5. Miten paljon kääntäjän työhön mielestäsi liittyy arvovaltaa?

Erittäin paljon

Paljon

Jonkin verran

Vähän

Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-6. Näkyvätkö kääntäjät ammattiryhmänä yhteiskunnassa?

Erittäin paljon

Paljon

Jonkin verran

Vähän

Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-7. Onko kääntäjän työllä mielestäsi taloudellista, poliittista, yhteiskunnallista tai muuta vaikutusta?

Erittäin paljon

Paljon

Jonkin verran

Vähän

Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

Kääntäjän ammattikuva käännösalan ulkopuolisten silmin

D-8. Kun **käännösalan ulkopuolinen ihminen** puhuu ”kääntäjästä”, mitä käännösalan ammattia hän useimmiten tarkoittaa?

asiatekstinkääntäjää

av-kääntäjää

kirjallisuudenkääntäjää

käännöskoordinaattoria

lokalisoijaa

tulkkia

muuta

Jos vastasit "muuta", tarkenna tähän:

D-9. Mieltävätkö käännösalan ulkopuoliset ihmiset kääntämisen erityisosaamista vaativaksi alaksi?

Erittäin paljon

Paljon

Jonkin verran

Vähän

Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-10. Kuinka monta vuotta lukion jälkeistä koulutusta käännösalan ulkopuoliset ihmiset mielestäsi uskovat tarvittavan, että voi toimia kääntäjänä?

- 0 vuotta
- 1-2 vuotta
- 3-4 vuotta
- 5-6 vuotta

D-11. Ajattelevatko käännösalan ulkopuoliset ihmiset, että kääntäjien ammattikunnalla on taloudellista, poliittista, yhteiskunnallista tai muuta vaikutusta?

- Erittäin paljon
- Paljon
- Jonkin verran
- Vähän
- Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-12. Katsotko, että käännösalan ulkopuoliset ihmiset mieltävät kääntämisen asiantuntijatyöksi?

- Erittäin paljon
- Paljon
- Jonkin verran
- Vähän
- Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-13. Mitä luulet käännösalan ulkopuolisten ihmisten arvioivan kuukausituloksesi bruttona?

- alle 1000 euroa
- 1000-1499 e
- 1500-1999 e
- 2000-2499 e
- 2500-2999 e
- 3000-3499 e
- 3500-3999 e
- 4000-4499 e
- 4500-4999 e
- 5000 e tai enemmän

Kääntäjän ammatin arvostus

D-14. Miten paljon kääntäjän ammattia mielestäsi arvostetaan Suomessa?

Erittäin paljon
Paljon
Jonkin verran
Vähän
Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-15. Miten paljon kääntäjiä mielestäsi arvostetaan Suomessa verrattuna muihin saman koulutustason ammatteihin?

Erittäin paljon
Paljon
Saman verran
Vähän
Erittäin vähän tai ei lainkaan

D-16. Valitse seuraavista ne 1-3 käännösalan ammattia, joita Suomessa mielestäsi arvostetaan eniten:

asiatekstinkääntäjä
asioimistulkki
av-kääntäjä
kirjallisuudenkääntäjä
konferenssitulkki
käännöskoordinaattori
lokalisoija
tekninen kirjoittaja

D-17. Mitkä tekijät tai ilmiöt mielestäsi **parantavat** kääntäjän ammatin arvostusta Suomessa? Nimeä 1-3 tärkeintä.

D-18. Mitkä tekijät tai ilmiöt mielestäsi **heikentävät** kääntäjän ammatin arvostusta Suomessa? Nimeä 1-3 tärkeintä.

D-19. Miten **itse** olet pyrkinyt parantamaan kääntäjän ammatin arvostusta? Mitkä keinot ovat toimineet parhaiten?

D-20. Valitse seuraavista ne **1-2 tahoa, joiden toiminnalla on mielestäsi eniten vaikutusta** kääntäjän ammatin arvostukseen:

kääntäjät
käännöstoimistot
toimeksiantajat, asiakkaat
lukijat, kuluttajat
arvostelijat, kriitikot
kääntämisen opettajat, tutkijat
käännösalan etujärjestöt (Käännösalan asiantuntijat KAJ, Suomen journalistiliitto, Suomen kääntäjien ja tulkkien liitto, Suomen käännöstoimistojen liitto)
lainsäädäntö, viranomaiset

D-21. Millaisiin toimenpiteisiin niiden **1-2 tahon, joilla mielestäsi on eniten vaikutusta**, tulisi ryhtyä kääntäjän ammatin arvostuksen parantamiseksi?

Ammatin suojaus

D-22. Pitäisikö mielestäsi kääntäjän ammatti suojata niin, että kuka tahansa ei voisi ryhtyä kääntäjäksi?

Kyllä
Ei

D-23. Jos vastasit "kyllä", miten ammatti pitäisi suojata?
Kääntäjille tulisi luoda suojattu ammattinimike, jota voisi käyttää vain tietyin edellytyksin (vrt. auktorisoitu kääntäjä)
Kääntäjinä toimivilta tulisi edellyttää kääntämisen koulutusta
Muulla tavalla, miten?

Muita ehdotuksia ammatin suojaamiseksi tai muita kommentteja aiheeseen:

Taustatiedot

1. Minkä ikäinen olet?

2. Mikä on sukupuolesi?

Mies

Nainen

En halua ilmoittaa

3. Mikä on koulutuksesi? Valitse vain laajin tai korkein suorittamasi tutkinto.

Peruskoulu

Lukio

Ammattikoulu tai ammattikorkeakoulu

Diplomikielenkääntäjä

Yliopisto-opintoja

Alempi korkeakoulututkinto (esim. HuK)

Ylempi korkeakoulututkinto (esim. FM, FK)

Tohtorin tai lisensiaatin tutkinto

Muu, mikä (tarkenna alla)

4. Tarkenna tähän pääaine, koulutusohjelma tai vastaava:

5. Missä asut vakituisesti tällä hetkellä?

Suomessa

Muualla

6. Kuinka kauan olet käyttänyt tietokonetta säännöllisesti (muutenkin kuin työssäsi)?

alle 5 vuotta

6-10 vuotta

11-15 vuotta

16-20 vuotta

21 vuotta tai kauemmin

7. Mihin käännösalan järjestöihin tai ammattijärjestöihin kuulut?

Journalistiliitto

Käännösalan asiantuntijat KAJ

Suomen kääntäjien ja tulkkien liitto

Suomen käännöstoimistojen liitto

Muu, mikä?

Jos vastasit "muu", tarkenna tähän:

8. Ilmoita kieliparit, joiden välillä käännät. Merkitse suunnat erikseen, esim. saksa-suomi, suomi-saksa.

9. Oletko auktorisoitu kääntäjäksi?

Kyllä

En

10. Missä kieliparissa tai kielipareissa? Merkitse suunnat erikseen, esim. saksa-suomi, suomi-saksa

Sana on vapaa: onko sinulla kommentteja koko kyselyn kysymyksiin tai aiheeseen?

ANNEX IV

RESPONDENTS' OPINIONS ON FACTORS AND PHENOMENA THAT IMPROVE TRANSLATOR STATUS IN FINLAND

Status parameter/ theme (n)	Factors and phenomena that improve translator status (respondent's working language)
Visibility (17)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A better visibility (of, for example, literary translators) would improve the value of the occupation. (sv) • Visibility in the media. (en) • Translators' appearances in the media. (en) • Speaking about the translator's occupation in public. • ... communications about the occupation. (sv) • Correct articles and news about translating. (en) • A mention of the translator's name in connection with a translation. (en) • By paying attention to translation work, for example, in connection with literature critiques of translated books. (sv) • Different literature prizes draw attention to translations, too. (sv) • Public appearances of awarded translators. (en) • ... emphasising the origin of [good translators]. (sv) • When attention is also given to good translations. (sv) • Increasing visibility, for example, clear language campaigns. (sv) • In my opinion, the protest and manifestations of the audio-visual translators increased the value of the whole occupation. (sv) • Good examples of the results of a translator's work. (en) • -Visibility. (sv, ru)
Education/expertise (17)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good education that provides professional competence. (sv) • Education requirements and development of education. (sv) • Taking professional education into account in recruitment. (en) • Level of education. (en) • Good education. (sv) • Education. (sv) • The value attached [to translating] would improve if the public could be made to understand that a translator creates something completely new when translating to another language, that translating is about translating ideas, not words. (en) • Awareness of required experience. (en) • Information about the requirements of the work. (sv) • Increasing information about the education and the occupation. (en) • Profiling as an expert occupation. • High-quality work. (en) • Good translations. (2 sv, en) • A system of authorised translators. (ru)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There should absolutely be accreditation as with doctors and lawyers. (en)
Income/working conditions (5)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rightly proportioned pricing of work. (en) • Salary. (sv, en, ru) • ... employers must provide the preconditions [for high-quality work]. (en)
Other (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translators' own attitude. (ru) • Uniform action instead of quarrelling with each other. (en)

ANNEX V

RESPONDENTS' OPINIONS ON FACTORS AND PHENOMENA THAT CAUSE DETERIORATION OF TRANSLATOR STATUS IN FINLAND

Status parameter/ theme (n)	Factors and phenomena that cause deterioration of translator status (respondent's working language)
Ignorance of required expertise (17)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is not considered demanding work. (sv) • Ignorance of the requirements of the work. (sv) • Limited knowledge of the translator's job description and the skills required by the profession. (en) • People think that anyone can translate (if one has the right mother tongue). (sv) • ... the fact that "no matter who" is considered capable of translating. (en) • The impression that anyone can translate, provided that he or she knows a language. (sv) • General ignorance of the translator's work. (sv) • Expertise is not drawn attention to, not used enough, for example, in companies employing only few translators. (sv) • The fact that all consider themselves as good "translators" as professional translators. (sv) • Many [people] think that all who know the source language well enough and have the target language as a mother tongue can work as translators. (sv) • ... an illusion of an easy work. (en) • The illusion that knowing a language equals the skill to translate. (en) • Considered as a skill that anyone who has been abroad as an exchange student possesses ... (en) • Considered as a service function/support service and not an expert function. (en) • The notion that [a translator] can translate [texts from] any field based on the source text without knowing the field. (en) • Employment of untrained translators. (sv) • Use of unskilled translators. (en)
Salary (10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dumping of prices. (en) • Bad salary. (2 sv, en) • Salary. (sv, ru) • Weakening of translators' livelihoods ... (ru) • Extremely bad salary of freelance document translators. (en) • ... dumping of [freelance translators'] fees. (sv) • The fact that the occupation is poorly paid. (sv)
Lack of visibility (7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The invisibility of translators. (2 sv, en) • The invisibility of translators in public. (en) • The work done by translators is invisible and taken for granted. (sv) • Current invisibility. (sv) • In many places of employment, a "remote place" in the organisation structure. (sv)
Lack of quality (7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-quality translations. (en) • Bad translations. (3 sv) • Badly translated texts. (sv) • ... weakened quality of media translations. (sv)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ... reflections on quality. (ru)
Working conditions (7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translators are not given enough time (people think that it goes just like that). (sv) • Translating is not given enough time. (sv) • Bad employment situation. (en) • The position of [freelance translators] when they work for big companies. (en) • The fact that big translation companies have taken over the translation markets and prevent the independent working of freelance translators. (en) • ... the outsourcing of translators as freelance translators. (sv) • Constant rush in working life. (sv)
Female-dominant profession (6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female dominance. (2 en, 2 ru) • Most translators are women. (sv) • Gender. (sv)
Own attitude (3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of ambition. (sv) • Careless attitude towards issues concerning Finnish. (sv) • Translators' own attitude. (ru)
Machine translations (3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Machine translations. (sv) • Machine translation programmes. (sv) • Machine translations (still imperfect but as a possibility create a picture of automatisisation). (en)
Lack of authorisation (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translator is not a protected occupational title. (ru) • No accreditation. (en)
"Everybody knows English" (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A persistent belief (myth) that "everyone knows English". (en) • ... "everyone knows English". (sv)

ANNEX VI

RESPONDENTS' OWN EFFORTS TO IMPROVE TRANSLATOR STATUS IN FINLAND

Status parameter/ theme (n)	Own efforts to improve translator status (respondent's working language)
Education/expertise (14)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I'm very ambitious as regards the quality of translations. (sv) • I try to do my work properly and as well as I can. (en) • By doing good work. (sv) • By doing good translations. (sv) • By doing high-quality translations. (sv) • By doing my work as well as possible. (en) • By doing my work as well as I can. (sv, ru) • By doing as good-quality translations as possible. (sv) • By promoting coherence in texts that need it. (sv) • I've tried to develop my professional skills as much as possible. (ru) • By continuous training. (en) • By participating in activities that promote translators' skills. (sv) • In the examination board of authorised translators, I've emphasised that it [= authorisation] should be required to have the [translator's] title (not university degree). (ru)
Visibility (8) Visibility for education/expertise (11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I'm of course happy to tell my friends about my job description and the occupation in general. (sv) • By speaking about the translator's work to the people I know. (sv) • By telling what I do for living; by giving visibility to the occupation in everyday life. (sv) • [By] providing information (sv) • By telling about my own work. (2 sv) • I speak about translators' significance. (ru) • ... information about translators' work. (sv) • Lectures to public officials and in universities. (sv) • At my own workplace, I have been active and taken up wrong or bad translations and poor Finnish texts that are the greatest reason for bad translations. (en) • By comparing a good translation with outsourced translations that are sometimes bad. (en) • I tell the commissioners what makes a good translation and why. (en) • I give reasons for my solutions in the translation. (en) • By telling examples that show that it takes many kinds of expertise about the substance and in information search in order for a translation to succeed. (en) • By explaining to commissioners what factors affect translating ... (en) • I tell the commissioner/the person who has written the text about shortcomings or ambiguities in the text. (sv) • By telling about the work's real nature and by providing examples. (sv) • By correcting misconceptions about translating and translators. (sv)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By telling about the occupation and its requirements bot at workplace and in private life. (en) • ... telling about education. (sv)
Other (4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By working in close cooperation with experts from other fields. (en) • By doing cooperation with commissioners and respecting deadlines. (sv) • I'm in active contact with colleagues. (en) • By being active in a translators' association. (sv)